

The
Archæological
Review.

A JOURNAL OF
Historic and Pre-historic Antiquities.

VOL. IV.
(AUGUST, 1889—JANUARY, 1890.)

LONDON:
DAVID NUTT, 270, STRAND, W.C.
1890.

LONDON :
WHITING & CO., PRINTERS, 30 AND 32, SARDINIA STREET,
LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.

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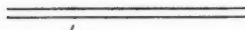
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The Archaeological Review.

VOL. IV.]

AUGUST, 1889.

[No. 1.]

THE FINN-MEN OF BRITAIN.

I.

MANY readers of the *Archæological Review* are no doubt acquainted with an interesting series of papers on "Scottish, Shetlandic, and Germanic Water Tales",¹ in the course of which the writer, Mr. Karl Blind, remarks as follows:—

It is in the Shetland Tales that we hear a great deal of creatures partly more than human, partly less so, which appear in the interchangeable shape of men and seals. They are said to have often married ordinary mortals, so that there are, even now, some alleged descendants of them, who look upon themselves as superior to common people.

In Shetland, and elsewhere in the North, the sometimes animal-shaped creatures of this myth, but who in reality are human in a higher sense, are called *Finns*. Their transfiguration into seals seems to be more a kind of deception they practise. For the males are described as most daring boatmen, with powerful sweep of the oar, who chase foreign vessels on the sea. At the same time they are held to be deeply versed in magic spells and in the healing art, as well as in soothsaying. By means of a "skin" which they possess, the men and the women among them are able to change themselves into seals. But on shore, after having taken off the wrappage, they are, and behave like, real human beings. Anyone who gets hold of their protecting garment has the Finns in his power. Only by means of the skin can they go back to the water. Many a Finn woman has got into the power of a Shetlander, and borne children to him; but if the Finn woman succeeded in reobtaining her sea-skin, or seal-skin, she escaped across the water. Among the older generation in the northern isles persons are still sometimes heard of who boast of hailing from Finns; and they attribute to themselves a peculiar luckiness on account of that higher descent.

* * * * *
Tales of the descent of certain families from water-beings of a

¹ Contributed to *The Contemporary Review* of 1881, and *The Gentleman's Magazine* of 1882.

magic character are very frequent in the . . . North. In Ireland such myths also occur sporadically. In Wales . . . the origin from mermen or mermaids is often charged as a reproach upon unhappy people ; and rows originate from such assertions.¹ In Shetland the reverse is, or was, the case. There the descendants of Finns have been wont to boast of their origin ; regarding themselves as favourites of Fortune. . . .

* * * * *

But who are the Finns of the Shetlandic story ? Are they simply a poetical transfiguration of finny forms of the flood ? Or can the Ugrian race of the Finns, which dwells in Finland, in the high north of Norway, and in parts of Russia, have something to do with those tales in which a Viking-like character is unmistakable ?

* * * * *

Repeated investigations have gradually brought me to the conviction that the Finn or Seal stories contain a combination of the mermaid myth, with a strong historical element—that the Finns are nothing else than a fabulous transmogrification of those Norse “sea-dogs”, who from eld have penetrated into the islands round Scotland, into Scotland itself, as well as into Ireland. “Old sea-dog” is even now a favourite expression for a weather-beaten, storm-tossed skipper—a perfect seal among the wild waves.

The assertion of a “higher” origin of still living persons from Finns . . . would thus explain itself as a wildly legendary remembrance of the descent from the blood of Germanic conquerors. The “skin” where-with the Finns change themselves magically into sea-beings I hold to be their armour, or coat of mail. Perhaps that coat itself was often made of seal-skin, and then covered with metal rings, or scales, as we see it in Norman pictures ; for instance, on the Bayeux tapestry. The designation of Norwegian and Danish conquerors, in Old Irish history, as “scaly monsters”, certainly fits in with this hypothesis.

* * * * *

But however the Finn name may be explained etymologically, at all events Norway appears in the Shetland tales, and in the recollection of the people there, as the home of the “Finns”. And this home—as I see from an interesting bit of folk-lore before me—is evidently in the south of Norway. . . .

Before coming to this important point, I may mention a Shetlandic

¹ This traditional descent from a “water-being” forms a part of Mr. Gomme’s instructive article on *Totemism in Britain*, at pp. 219-20 of the June number of this *Review*. But it is evident that one who holds the opinions expressed in the present article cannot view these special traditions in the same light as Mr. Gomme. The question of totemism, on which that writer is so great an authority, and is, in itself, so full of interest, would not, however, be substantially affected in the least degree, even if the “seal” descent could not be attributed to any other cause than that set forth in this paper.

spell-song [which] refers to the cure of the toothache ; the Finn appearing therein as a magic medicine-man :—

“ A Finn came ow'r fa Norraway,
Fir ta pit töth-ache away—
Oot o' da flesh an' oot o' da bane ;
Oot o' da sinew an' oot o' da skane ;
Oot o' da skane an' into da stane ;
An dare may do remain !
An dare may do remain !
An dare may do remain !”

In this, though not strictly and correctly, alliterative song, the Finn is not an animal-shaped creature of the deep, but a man, a charm-working doctor from Norway. . . . Presently we will, however, see that the Finns of the Shetlandic stories are martial pursuers of ships, to whom ransom must be paid in order to get free from them. This cannot apply to a mere marine animal or sea monster : for what should such a creature do with ransom-money? As to their animal form, Mr. George Sinclair writes :—

“ Sea monsters are for most part called ‘ Finns’ in Shetland. They have the power to take any shape of any marine animal, as also that of human beings. They were wont to *pursue boats at sea*, and it was dangerous in the extreme *to say anything against them*. I have heard that *silver money was thrown overboard to them* to prevent their doing any damage to the boat. In the seal-form they came ashore every ninth night to dance on the sands. They would then cast off their skins, and act *just like men and women*. They could not, however, return to the sea without their skins—they were *simply human beings*, as an old song says :

“ ‘ I am a man upo' da land ;
I am a selkie i' da sea.
An' whin I'm far fa every strand,
My dwelling is in Shöol Skerry.’ ”

* * * * *

There are many such folk-tales in the northern Thule. A man, we learn, always gets possession of the Finn woman by seizing the skin she has put off. One of these stories says that the captured Finn woman would often leave her husband to enjoy his slumber alone, and go down amongst the rocks to converse with her Finn one : but the inquisitive people who listened could not understand a single word of the conversation. She would, it was said, return after such interviews with briny and swollen eyes.

The human family of this Finn were human in all points, except in hands, which resembled web feet. Had the foolish man who was her husband burnt or destroyed the skin, the Finn woman could never have escaped. But the man had the skin hidden, and it was found by one of the bairns, who gave it to his mother. Thereupon she fled ; and it is said

that she cried, at parting with her family, very bitterly. The little ones were the only human beings she cared for. When the father came home, he found the children in tears, and on learning what had happened, bounded through the standing corn to the shore, where he only arrived in time to see, to his grief, his good wife shaking flippers and embracing an ugly brute of a seal. She cried:—

“Blissins’ be wi’ de,
Baith de and da bairns !
Bit do kens, da first love
Is aye da best !”

whereupon she disappeared with her Finn husband and lover.

* * * * *

. . . . I here give what Mr. Robert Sinclair says of the capture of Finn brides by Shetlanders :—

“Each district, almost, has its own version of a case where a young Shetlander had married a female Finn. They were generally caught at their toilet in the tide-mark, having doffed the charmed covering, and being engaged in dressing their flowing locks, while the enamoured youth, by some lucky stroke, secured the skin, rendering the owner a captive victim of his passion. Thus it was that whole families of a mongrel race sprang up, according to tradition. The Finn women were said to *make good housewives*. Yet there was generally a longing after some previous attachment ; and if ever a chance occurred of recovering the essential dress, no newly formed ties of kindred could prevent escape and return to former pleasures. This was assiduously guarded against on the one side, and watched on the other ; but, as the story goes, female curiosity and cunning were always more than a match for male care and caution ; and the Finn woman always got the slip. One or two of these female Finns was said to have the power to conjure up from the deep a superior breed of horned cattle ; and these always thrived well. I have seen some pointed out to me as the offspring of these ‘sea-kye’.”

In answer to my question, the Shetland friend lays great stress on the fact of the Finn woman being wholly distinct from the Mermaid. . . .

* * * * *

Of the Finn man my informant says :—

“Stories of the Norway Finns were rife in my younger days. These were said to be a race of creatures of *human origin* no doubt, but possessed of some power of enchantment by which they could, with the use of a charmed seal-skin, become in every way, to all appearance, a veritable seal ; only *retaining their human intelligence*. It seems that any seal-skin could not do ; each *must have their specially prepared skin* before they could assume the aquatic life. But then they could live for years in the sea. Yet they were not reckoned as belonging to the natural class of ‘amphibia’. As man or seal they were simply Finns, and could play their part well in either element. Their feats were marvellous. It was told me

as sheer truth that they could *pull across to Bergen*—nearly 300 miles—in a few hours, and that, while ordinary mortals were asleep, they could make the return voyage. Nine miles for every warp (stroke of the oar) was the traditional speed. . . .”

Here, then, the Finns are men of human origin; remaining intelligent men in their sea-dog raiment; coming from Norway; not swimming like marine animals, but rowing between Shetland and Norway—namely, to the town of Bergen, which lies in the southern . . . part of Norway. As strong men at sea, they row with magic quickness. . . . Each one of them . . . must have his specially prepared skin. . . . There is nothing here of the swimming and dipping down of a seal.

We have followed Mr. Karl Blind so far. But, while recognising the value of his statements and comments up to this point, it is necessary to give only a modified assent to some of his subsequent deductions, and to flatly deny the correctness of others; because his researches in “Shetlandic folk-lore” have clearly been too limited in their extent, or, rather, he has omitted to check those traditions by any possible contemporary records. Some of those tales were received from a Shetland woman “who strongly believed in the Finns, and declared herself to be a descendant of them. . . . She was, she said, the ‘fifth from the Finns’, and she attributed great luckiness to herself, although she was as poor as poor could be.” One of her stories is of her father’s great-grandfather; and as this ancestor of the woman’s is not spoken of as a “Finn”, it would seem that she was “fifth from the Finns” through another branch of her lineage. But, at any rate, this progenitor in the fourth degree cannot have belonged to a much later period than the middle of the eighteenth century. Not that it is necessary to go so far back even as that, in order to find these Shetland “Finns”. We are told that “the belief that witches and wizards came from the coast of Norway disguised as seals, was entertained by many of the Shetland peasantry even so late as the beginning of the *present* century.”¹ However, we shall see them more plainly described if we turn to the latter part of the seventeenth century.

In *A Description of the Isles of Orkney*, written by the Rev. James Wallace, A.M., Minister of Kirkwall, about the year 1688, one reads as follows:—

Sometime about this Country [Orkney] are seen these Men which are called *Finnmen*; In the year 1682 one was seen sometime sailing, sometime Rowing up and down in his little Boat at the south end of the Isle of

¹ This (which is stated in *Shetland Fireside Tales*) is quoted by Mr. Blind in his article in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of March 1882.

Eda, most of the people of the Isle flocked to see him, and when they adventured to put out a Boat with men to see if they could apprehend him, he presently fled away most swiftly: And in the Year 1684, another was seen from *Westra*, and for a while after they got few or no Fishes, for they have this Remark here, that these *Finnmen* drive away the fishes from the place to which they come.

Again, in Brand's *Brief Description of Orkney, Zetland, etc.* (1701), it is stated:

There are frequently *Fin-men* seen here upon the Coasts, as one about a year ago on *Stronsa*, and another within these few Months on *Westra*, a gentleman with many others in the Isle looking on him nigh to the shore, but when any endeavour to apprehend them they flee away most swiftly; Which is very strange, that one man sitting in his little Boat, should come some hundred of Leagues, from their own Coasts, as they reckon *Finland* to be from *Orkney*; It may be thought wonderfull how they live all that time, and are able to keep the Sea so long. His Boat is made of Seal-skins, or some kind of leather, he also hath a Coat of Leather upon him, and he sitteth in the middle of his Boat, with a little Oar in his hand, Fishing with his Lines: And when in a storm he seeth the high surge of a wave approaching, he hath a way of sinking his Boat, till the wave pass over, least thereby he should be overturned. The Fishers here observe that these *Finmen* or *Finland-men*, by their coming drive away the Fishes from the Coasts. One of their Boats is kept as a Rarity in the *Physicians Hall at Edinburgh*.

This last fact was first stated by Wallace (1688; previously quoted), who remarks:

One of their Boats sent from Orkney to Edinburgh is to be seen in the Physitians hall with the Oar and the Dart he makes use of for killing Fish, [and it is stated by Mr. John Small, M.A., &c., in his edition¹ of this book that the boat spoken of was "afterwards presented to the University Museum, now incorporated with the Museum of Science and Art, Edinburgh"; and a note appended to the second edition also states that "there is another of their boats in the Church of Burra in Orkney"].

Wallace's book has also a note ascribed to the author's son, to the following effect:

I must acknowledge it seems a little unaccountable how these *Finnmen* should come on this coast, but they must probably be driven by storms from home, and cannot tell, when they are any way at sea, how to make their way home again; they have this advantage, that be the Seas never so boisterous, their boats being made of Fish Skins, are so contrived that he can never sink, but is like a Sea-gull swimming on the top of the watter.

¹ A reprint of 1883.

His shirt he has is so fastned to the Boat, that no water can come into his Boat to do him damage, except when he pleases to untie it. . . .

There is, it will be seen, some difference of opinion as to the place whence these Finn-men came. The Shetlandic folk-lore indicates Bergen, on the south-western coast of Norway; Brand regards Finland as their home; while Wallace takes a still wider range. This last writer (who is the first in point of time) says this of them:—"These *Finnmen* seem to be some of these people that dwell about the *Fretum Davis* [Davis Straits], a full account of whom may be seen in the natural & moral History of the *Antilles*, Chap. 18." At first sight, and according to modern nomenclature, the connection between the Antilles and Davis Straits seems very remote. But it must be remembered that the traditional country of "Antilla", or the "Antilles", probably included the modern Atlantic seaboard of North America; and that, when that territory was invaded by the Norsemen of the tenth century, it was found to contain a population of exactly the same description as those "Finn" races—people of dwarfish stature, who traversed their bays and seas in skin-covered skiffs.¹ However, Wallace's theory is obviously untenable. It is most improbable that any Eskimo of Davis Straits would attempt the trans-Atlantic passage in his tiny *kayak*, supporting life on the voyage by eating raw such fish as he might catch. Indeed, the feat is almost an impossibility. Moreover, it is quite clear that those Finn-men were voluntary and frequent visitors to the Orkneys and (more especially) to the Shetlands; and the "Fin-land" from which they came is stated by the Shetlanders to have been no further off than Bergen, on the Norwegian coast.²

It is quite evident that "the Finns of the Shetlandic story" formed a branch of "the Ugrian race of the Finns"; and that some of them "came ow'r fa Norraway"—whether as "wizards", or as fishermen, or as pirates (for they figure in all these characters). The description of their skin-covered canoes is of itself quite sufficient to show that those "Finns" of Orkney and Shetland were of the Eskimo races. The specimen "kept as a Rarity" in the Edinburgh Museum is nothing else than an Eskimo "kayak". So that those "sea-skins", without which the captive Finn women could not make their escape, were simply their canoes. And the exaggerated stories of the speed with which the Finns could cross from Shetland to Bergen have their foundation in the fact that

¹ *Antiquitates Americane.*

² It may be from them that an inlet at Bergen is called "*Fens Fiord*."

those little skiffs can be propelled through the water at such a rate that the hunted Finn was enabled to "flee away most swiftly" from the clumsier boats of his pursuers. That they could "pull across to Bergen . . . in a few hours" was, of course, impossible; but the distance (which is nearer 200 than "300" miles) might easily be traversed between one sunrise and another—by such seafarers and in such craft.

But, while the "seal-skin" of the traditional Finn was primarily his skin kayak, it is likely enough that he is also remembered as the wearer of a seal-skin garment; and that from this has arisen the confusion of ideas regarding this magic "skin". "His Boat is made of Seal-skins or some kind of leather", says Brand, in describing the Finn-man; but he adds that "*he* also hath a Coat of Leather upon him". And Dr. Wallace tells us that the Finns "have this advantage, that be the Seas never so boisterous, their boats being made of Fish Skins, are so contrived that he can never sink, but is like a Sea-gull swimming on the top of the watter." And he continues: "His shirt he has is so fastened to the Boat, that no water can come into his Boat to do him damage, except when he pleases to untye it." Anyone familiar with the shape of the long, narrow, skin-covered skiff of the Eskimo (which is completely "decked", with the exception of the round aperture in the middle, where the rower sits—his legs being thrust in front of him, underneath the "deck"), will see that when the Finn had fastened his seal-skin garment to the sides of the aperture, he and his boat were one. Thus, not only could "no water come into his Boat to do him damage", but he appeared (to people unacquainted with his anatomy) as some amphibious seal-man—"a selkie i' da sea", as the Shetland rhyme goes. And to this circumstance may be traced much—if not all—that has been recorded of mermen and mermaids; who, in other words, were seamen and seamaids.

Those legendary mermaids who are described as using combs and mirrors were plainly allied to these Finn-women. It is manifest that no amphibious woman (the possibility of whose existence is not here denied) would carry a mirror and a comb about with her; or that she—whose chief element was the water—would be for ever engaged in the mad task of arranging hair which every plunge in the sea would disarrange most effectually. But those female Finns, whom the amorous Shetlanders captured before they could regain their little *kayaks*, are described as "engaged in dressing their flowing locks" at the eventful moment: a most natural proceeding on the part of any woman who has just landed

from a sea-voyage (whether these particular women had come all the way from Bergen, or—which is likely—from some outlying island of the Shetland group). The *reality* of those merwomen of Shetland is manifest throughout the tales relating to them. They bear children to their Shetland lovers; they “were said to make good housewives”; and their descendants in the Shetland Islands to-day are, presumably, as “real” and human as any of Her Majesty’s subjects. That most of those unwillingly-wedded Finn women tried to regain their liberty at the first opportunity is seen from the repeated statement that the Shetland husband was always careful to hide the “sea-skin” of his Finn wife. But, in the story of the woman who held occasional interviews with her kindred, from which she returned “with briny and swollen eyes”, it would seem that she had decided to throw in her lot with her Shetland husband and people. It is true that, if her friends came to those stolen interviews in their small skiffs, they could not help her to escape; because those *kayaks* are (like bicycles and “sulkies”) only able to carry one passenger. But it may be presumed that some mode of escape could have been effected, had she wished.

Although Bergen was latterly the home of those Finns who came to Shetland, it is most probable that many of the stories regarding them related to a time when they still retained possession of some of the Shetland islands. When they were “frequently” seen off the Orkney coast, quietly fishing, it is most improbable that their homes were among the Fiords of Norway—more than two hundred miles away. It seems clear that they retained their hold upon Shetland longer than Orkney; but even in some parts of the latter archipelago they were apparently pretty much at home in the year 1700. This was the date of the Rev. Mr. Brand’s tour, and a remark of his leads one to such a conclusion. It must be remembered that those Finns were regarded as wizards and witches by the more ignorant classes: “the belief that witches and wizards came from the coast of Norway disguised as seals was entertained by many of the Shetland peasantry even so late as the beginning of the present century.” And they were regarded as, in some sense, supernatural beings. Now, Mr. Karl Blind, in suggesting that the “skins” of the Finns may have been (as in one aspect they actually were) their outward garments, “made of seal-skin, and then covered with metal rings, or scales”—in assuming this, Mr. Blind is quite in agreement with a statement made by Brand in 1700; which is to this effect, that “supernatural” beings were, at the date of his visit, “frequently seen in several of the

Isles (the Orkneys) dancing and making merry, *and sometimes seen in Armour.*" It ought not to be forgotten that although the Finn fisherman "fled away most swiftly", when chased by a considerable party of his foes, yet "it is worthy of note that the supposed object of [the Finn invaders] . . . was *plunder*";¹ that "they were wont to pursue boats at sea"; that "*silver money was thrown to them* to prevent their doing any damage to the boat"; and that "it was dangerous in the extreme *to say anything against them.*"² Whether such attacks were made in their small skin-canoes, or whether they used larger vessels, it is evident that they were formidable marauders; and that, as Mr. Karl Blind suggests, and as the Rev. Mr. Brand records, those Finn pirates were "sometimes seen in Armour".

But neither the belief in Mer-men, nor the existence of traditionary pedigrees deduced from such people, forms a distinct characteristic of the Shetland Islands. Just as there are Shetlanders who trace their lineage to one or more ancestors of Finn blood, so are there similar family traditions in many parts of the British Islands. "It is believed that there are several old Welsh families who are the descendants" of Mer-folk; and similar examples are found "in the traditions of the O'Flaherty, O'Sullivan, and Macnamara families."³ "The inhabitants of the Isle of Man have a number of such stories, which may be found in Waldron";⁴ and the tale of Macphail of Colonsay and "The Mermaid of Corryvreckan" is not the only Hebridean illustration of this feature. The references that are made to mermaids in the prefatory remarks to Leyden's version of the Corryvreckan story are quite in keeping with the Shetland traditions. That is, there are certain attributes ascribed to those mer-women which, on the surface, are incredible; but which the knowledge that is given to us by Brand and Wallace renders quite intelligible. The "train" or "tail" of the mermaid has only to be translated "canoe" or "kayak", and what was formerly nonsense becomes sense. For example, the statement that "the mermaid of Corrivrekin possessed the power of occasionally resigning her scaly train", is only a jumbled reminiscence of the fact referred to by Dr. Wallace, who, when speaking of the

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1882.

² *Contemporary Review*, September 1881.

³ *Contemporary Review*, August 1881. See also Mr. Gomme's article, *Arch. Rev.*, vol. iii, pp. 219-20. And to these examples may be added the people of Burra Firth, Unst, Shetland, who are said to be descended from "seals".

⁴ Preface to Leyden's "Mermaid", in *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*.

mer-man, says: "His [seal-skin] shirt he has so fastened to the Boat, that no water can come into his Boat to do him damage, except when he pleases to untye it, which he . does when he comes ashore." In the other phraseology, he "possessed the power of occasionally resigning his scaly train".

In the remarks prefacing Leyden's "Mermaid" (in *The Minstrelsy*), it is stated that "mermaids were sometimes supposed to be possessed of supernatural power". The Shetland peasantry, also, believe (or did believe) that "*witches* came from the coast of Norway disguised as seals." And "Ranulph Higden says 'that the *witches* in the Isle of Man anciently sold winds to mariners, and delivered them in knots, tied upon a thread, *exactly as the Laplanders did*.'"¹ At one time—if not now—Lapland was regarded as a stronghold of "magic". Butler, in referring to one of the things "in which the Lapland Magi deal", makes selection of this practice of "selling winds" to sailors²; the "Magi" being (in this detail) feminine. But the British Islanders have practised many "Lapp" mysteries: and there is a distinct "Ugrian" element among the British people; neither of which facts are at all at variance with the traditions that derive the descent of many modern Britons from sea-faring tribes of "Finns" and other Mer-folk.

One account³ states, with regard to the mer-women, that "the sailors pretend to guess what chance they had of saving their lives in the tempests, which always followed her appearance." Apparently, this refers more particularly to Norway. In the Channel Islands a similar belief exists regarding the mer-man, who is styled "the King of the *Auxcriniers*". "*Il est le baladin lugubre de la tempête*", says Victor Hugo, in describing this mer-man of the Channel.⁴ The probable explanation of this belief is that, when a tempest was threatening, those solitary rovers—knowing that their fragile "sea-skins" could never outride a heavy storm—made hastily for the nearest coast. Indeed, when one looks at those delicate little vessels, wholly dependent upon the thoroughness of the stitching that unites the various pieces of skin together, one can only wonder at the daring of the people who ventured in them a hundred miles and more from any land. "Nothing but a plank between one and Eternity" is not so dangerous as it sounds; for planks can float one

¹ *Letters from the Isle of Man.* London, 1847; p. 59.

² The allusion in *Hudibras* bears more specially on the custom of selling the winds in bags, or "bottled"; which is a variation of the Manx practice.

³ The preface to Leyden's "Mermaid."

⁴ *Les Travailleurs de la Mer.*

when the worst happens. But what is to be made of half-a-dozen bits of whalebone or wood, with one thin covering of seal-skin stretched over them? The giving of a stitch, or the smallest fracture in the skin—and both skiff and skiff-man are under the water.

To point out the various characteristics of the traditional mer-men and mer-women, and to suggest an explanation of each, is more than need be attempted here. But it is enough to remark that the mere fact that marriages between “men” and the mer-folk were possible and frequent, is quite sufficient to prove that there was no great difference between the two races. When one reads of mer-women bearing children to land-men, and “making good housewives” to them; or, when one learns that the mer-men were given to “deceiving women”, then one may feel pretty certain of their humanity.

It has been noticed that one of their skin-boats, or kayaks, is “kept as a Rarity” in the Museum at Edinburgh, and that another is (or was) preserved “in the Church of Burra in Orkney”. There are many British traditions of such boats in connection with such people; although the names by which those skiffs are popularly remembered are as unreasonable as the “scaly train” of the Finn-woman of Corryvreckan. In Sutherland it is said that those people used to cross the Dornoch Firth in “cockle shells”;¹ while one man records having seen them quitting the coasts of the Isle of Man “in empty rum puncheons”, in which vessels he “saw them scudding away, as far as the eye could reach.”² It is very likely that those traditional “witches” who went to sea in “sieves” were also identical with those who came from the coast of Norway disguised as seals; and that the *sieve* was nothing else than the *kayak*.

That the Finns of Orkney and Shetland used the long, narrow *kayaks* of the modern Esquimaux and Samoyeds is unmistakable: and the same shape of skiff has probably been employed by British and other European “mer-men” for an immemorial period. But other varieties of this kind of boat have been used. For example, the natives of those islands and promontories which form “the Rosses” of Donegal are described (in the years 1753 and 1754) as using seal-skin boats; but their shape does not seem to have been identical with that of the kayak. “Their boats” (says a visitor to “the Rosses”, at that date³), “called curraghs, were oval

¹ Mr. J. F. Campbell's *West Highland Tales*, vol. ii, p. 64.

² *Letters from the Isle of Man*. London, 1847; p. 63.

³ Quoted in the *Annual Register* of 1788; *Manners of Nations*, pp. 77-80.

baskets, covered with seal-skins ; and in such weak and tottering vessels they ventured so far out as was necessary, to get fish enough for their families."

These *curraghs*, it would seem, were nearer those still used in Wales (and also by the Mandans of the Upper Missouri) than the long, covered-in skiff of the sub-Arctic tribes. Or, perhaps, they resemble those *curraghs* now used in Ireland ; which differ chiefly from ordinary boats in their frames being covered with skins, in place of planks. In his *Gaelic Dictionary*, Armstrong states that "the *curach*, or boat of leather and wicker", was "much in use in the Western Isles (Hebrides), even long after the art of building of boats of wood was introduced." As he says that the Islesmen "fearlessly committed themselves, in these slight pinnaces, to the mercy of the most violent weather", it seems most likely that the "decked" kayak is the kind of which he is speaking. At any rate, when he gives a diminutive form of *curach* (*curachan*), and defines it "a little skiff ; a canoe", it is almost certain that he has in view the "kayak" of the Finn-man.

It appears impossible to ascertain a time when those skin-boats were *not* used in Europe. Armstrong tells us that "Marianus Scotus makes mention of three Irishmen who came in a *curach* without sails or oars, and landed in Cornwall after a voyage of seven days"; and, further, that "Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* vii, observes that the Saxon pirates of his time frequently crossed the British seas in such boats". Again, the fourth-century inhabitants of the Oestrymnic Archipelago are thus described by a Latin writer¹:—

"They know not to fit with pine
Their keels, nor with fir, as use is,
They shape their boats ; but, strange to say,
They fit their vessels with united skins,
And often traverse the deep in a hide."

And Gildas, referring to the incursions of the "Scots and Picts", says that they crossed the "Scythian Valley" (believed to be either the Firth of Forth or the Solway Firth) in "*the little narrow bores of their curroughs*". This last expression indicates the *kayak* pretty plainly, though some of the other references suggest a larger size of skin-boat.

In the twelfth century, according to the *Heimskringla* (Saga xiv), these skin-boats were still used by the Lapps or Finns.

¹ Quoted by Dr. Skene : *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i, p. 168.

(These two terms are interchangeable.) When Sigurd Slembe and his men sought shelter from their foes, in a cave "at Tialdasund by Glufrafiord in Kinnfelde", where they passed the winter, he got the Lapps to make two skin-boats for him, large enough to contain twelve men each.¹ "These boats were so light that no ship could overtake them in the water, according to what was sung at the time:—

' Our skin-sewed Fin-boats lightly swim,
Over the sea like wind they skim.
Our ships are built without a nail;
Few ships like ours can row or sail.' "

These lines are precisely in agreement with the Shetland traditions regarding the Finns who "came over from Norway"; and it will be remembered that the "Finmen" who fished off the Orkney coasts about the year 1682, and one or more of whose slim kayaks are still preserved in Edinburgh, had no difficulty in "fleeing away most swiftly" from the heavier boats of their pursuers.

And although that portion of the *Heimskringla* does not specially indicate the kayak (which, however, may be inferred), it is probable that this is what is meant in the *Ynglinga Saga* (chap. vii), where it is stated that "Odin had a ship which was called Skidbladner, in which he sailed over wide seas, and which he could roll up like a cloth." "This possibly refers", says Mr. Laing, "to boats covered with skin or leather—the coracle of the Welsh and Irish."

That the round *curach* or *coracle*, covered with skin, and similar to that still seen in Wales, was in use in the north of Scotland in the early part of last century, is testified to by a letter quoted in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1880-81, p. 179-80, from which it will be seen that the tradition already referred to—that the dwellers on the shores of the Dornoch Firth used to employ "cockle shells" as ferry-boats—is nothing but a fanciful and imperfect remembrance of this particular kind of *curach*. The *curachs*, however, in which the Western Islanders "fearlessly committed themselves . . . to the mercy of the most violent weather" cannot have been of this shape. But either variety of skin-boat was undoubtedly the property of the one race of people. Indeed, we are told, in a description of the Aleutian Islanders

¹ They were therefore much larger than the *kayak*, but other Mongoloid tribes, such as the Aleutian islanders, are described as using both sizes—the large one for a number of men, the *kayak* for the solitary rover; both sizes being made of the same material.

during last century, that "their vessels consist of two sorts", of which one is the *kayak*, propelled by the double-bladed paddle, while the other is large enough to hold thirty or forty people, and has "oars on both sides". But both kinds are skin-covered.

Enough, then, has been said to indicate the presence of those skiff-people in various parts of the British Islands, and in various parts of Europe. It may be that the latest *authentic* records of British Esquimaux are those given by Brand and Wallace, in the end of the seventeenth century. True, the Shetlandic (and perhaps other) traditions bring us down to later dates. But traditions are necessarily uncertain. However, we do know that the waters surrounding the Orcadian and Shetland groups were fished in by Esquimaux tribes so recently as the year 1700¹; and we also know, from tradition, that these same "Finns" or "Finn-men" "were wont to pursue boats at sea", and to demand a money-tribute from the fishermen whom they chased. (In turn, they themselves were pursued by the islanders, when they made their appearance, singly, near their coasts.) That they were feared by the islanders is evident from the Shetlandic legends; and it will be noticed that those Shetlanders who are understood to have Finn blood in their veins "look upon themselves as superior to common people". All this suggests that those straggling "Finn-men" of the year 1700 were really the representatives of a decayed caste of conquerors. The fact that they are remembered as wearing armour places them before us as a distinctly military race; and "the Darts they make use of for killing Fish" were probably the least important of their weapons.

The non-Finnish Shetlanders who overheard the captive woman talking with her friends "could not understand a single word of the conversation". It is not necessary to assume that this denoted more than a mere dialectic difference; accent being a wonderfully important consideration in cases of this sort. That Finn settlements were often conterminous with districts occupied by those who regarded the Finns as enemies is suggested by the existence of a "Finns' Town" in Orkney, and a "Finn Town" in Donegal.²

Of course, those Finns must have one or many historical names. It is probable that they constituted a large proportion of the population of the Outer Hebrides. One of the stories relating to such people is of a mer-woman who "fell in love with a young

¹ Brand.

² And, perhaps, by many other names of like nature—such as *Finsbury*, *Findon*, *Finhaven*, *Fincastle*, etc.

shepherd, who kept his flocks beside a creek *much frequented by these marine people*—the locality being somewhere on the Manx coast. “She frequently caressed him” (the account continues—somewhat superfluously), “and brought him presents of coral, fine pearls, and every valuable production of the ocean.”¹ Now, this woman may easily have been one of those “marine people” who inhabited various parts of the Hebrides, and who used the skin-skiff of the Esquimaux “even long after the art of building boats of wood was introduced”. Those Hebrideans (we have been told by Armstrong) “fearlessly committed themselves, in these slight pinnaces, to the mercy of the most violent weather.” The coral and “fine pearls” which this mer-woman brought to her Manx lover may have come from no greater distance than the Island of Skye; since Martin tells us that the people of that island used to adorn their garments with “fine stones” and “pieces of red coral”—the latter article being found in “great quantity” on the shores of the Lewis. At that time the islanders of Jura dwelt in turf-covered wigwams identical with those used by modern Lapps; as may be seen from the illustration given by Pennant in his second *Tour*. And the people of Harris were described in the following terms, in the early part of this century²:—“In general the natives are of small stature. . . . Scarcely any attain the height of 6 feet, and many of the males are not higher than 5 feet 3 or 4 inches.” “The Harrisian physiognomy” is thus detailed: “The cheek bones are rather prominent, and the nose is invariably short, the space between it and the chin being disproportionately long. The complexion is of all tints. Many individuals are as dark as mulattoes. . . .” The population thus described was greatly mingled at the period when these latter observations were made; but there is nevertheless strong evidence of the possession of Ugrian blood in the people thus portrayed. And their boats and dwellings do nothing to contradict this theoretical connection with the races we now know by such names as Lapp, Finn, Samoyed, and Eskimo.

The author of the *Gallovidian Encyclopedia* gives also a hint of the existence of such a population in Galloway: when (under the name “cutty glies”) he refers to “a class of females”, whom he describes as “little” and “squat-made”, and to whom he assigns (without exception) the amorous nature of the Manx mer-woman just spoken of. And, as the Gallovidian chronicler lived near the

¹ This is quoted from *Waldron's Works*, p. 176.

² This description is given at p. 550 of Dawson's *Statistical History of Scotland*.

inlet known as "the Manxman's Lake", it is not improbable that this also was "a creek much frequented by these marine people"; and that, in short, Mactaggart's "little, squat-made females" were of the same stock as the Mer-women of the Isle of Man and the Hebrides, and the Finn-women of the Northern Isles.

It is clear that those popular traditions and records, as well as the indisputable statements of Brand and Wallace, indicate two very different kinds of people, who, sometimes fighting, sometimes inter-marrying, occupied territories that were, in many cases, continuous. That they were often enemies is evident. The Finn-man, when alone, was hunted from the non-Finnish islands by the natives: and, on the other hand, he was "wont to pursue boats at sea", and to demand tribute from the fishermen—when his superior arms, or the number of his comrades, warranted him to do so.

Now, there is documentary evidence of this state of things during the seventeenth century; though the localities therein referred to are the Northern Hebrides rather than the Orkney and Shetland Isles. But the description corresponds, in everything else, with that given by the islesmen of the North-East. We are told¹ that, in the year 1635, certain sections of the Hebridean Islanders "comes in troupes and Companies out of the Yles where they dwell to the Yles and Loches where the fishes are tane and their violentlie spoyle his Majesties subjects of their fishes and sometimes of their victualls and other furniture and perseques thame of their lyffes, breakes the schooles of their herring and comitts manie moe insolenceis upoun thame to the great hinder and disappointing of the fishing, hurt of his Majesties subjects to the contempt of his Majesties auctoritie and lawes," etc. This—even to the detail that they "by their coming drive away the Fishes from the Coasts"—is an exactly similar account to that given, in the same century, to Brand and Wallace, and in the present century (but relating to about the same period) to Mr. Karl Blind. In the one case, the scene is the North-Western coasts of Scotland; in the other it is the North-Eastern. But the kind of people described are pretty evidently alike.

In either case, too, the Mer-folk or Finn-men are not spoken of as subjects of the Modern-British kingdom. The Proclamation of 1635, quoted above, does not regard "some of the inhabitants of the Yles of this kingdom" as being "his Majesties subjects". The phrase, "*Yles of this kingdom*", does, indeed, imply something

¹ In a "Proclamation by the Privy Council of Scotland regarding the Fishing in the Isles"; given at p. 111 of *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*.

of a common nationality ; but, as a matter of fact, certain portions of North-Western Scotland were not strictly under the rule of Charles the First, at that period. That this was so may be seen (if nowhere else) in the papers relating to those territories, of dates ranging from 1574 to 1635, which are quoted in the *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* (pp. 100-121). One of these is a letter written by Charles I "to the Privy Council of Scotland directing an inquiry into the exactions by the Heritors of the [Hebridean] Isles from those engaged in the Fisheries ; and the bringing in of Foreigners by the Heritors." And this letter runs as follows : "Whereas it is not unknown to you with what care we have intendit the good of the Association of the Fischings within thess our Kingdomes *for the use of our subjects*¹ and that we will be provident to protect *them*¹ from the exaction of *the heritours in the Yles*¹ who as we are informed without warrant exact sundrie dewteis from them to their great prejudice, bringing in strangers and loading the vessells with fisches and other native commoditeis contrair to our lawis," etc. The letter then commands the Scotch Privy Council to learn "upon what warrant they ["the landislordis of the Yles wher the fisching is"] tak thess dewteiss." In the Report made, six months later, by the Commissioners appointed by the Privy Council, regarding "the duteis exacted be the Ylanders from his Majesteis subjects of the associatioun resorting in these parts," it is stated : "*that it wes the ancient custome*² . . . to everie ane of thame in whose boundis the herring fishing fell oute, *to exact of*² everie barke and ship resorting thereto" such-and-such a tribute, in money and in kind : "Being demandit by what warrant they uplift the saids exactions and dewteis foresaids, they answer that they ar heretours of the ground and so may lawfully take up satisfacioun for ground leave and ankerage ; it being ane ancient custome and in use to be done past memorie of man."

Through all these documents of this period there runs a feeling (not distinctly formulated) that "his Majesteis subjects"—"his Majesteis frie liegis"—"the haill inhabitantis of The Burrowis of this Realme"—were terms that did not strictly apply to "the heritours in the Yles". And that these latter—though nominally the subjects of the British monarch—still exercised a kind of semi-sovereignty in their own territories ; enforcing tribute from "his Majesty's free lieges", and carrying on commercial relations with "foreigners", contrary to the wishes of Charles himself. That

¹ Not italicised in the original.

² In this instance the italics occur in the original.

these independent rights were, to some extent, recognised by Charles may be gathered from his own expressions in the documents referred to. And the existence of this antagonism to British law was quite distinctly acknowledged by Charles's father (James) when, in the year 1608, he issued his instructions to a Commission "appointed for the Improvement of the Isles"; wherein he states his "desire to remove all such scandalous reproches aganis that state, in suffering a pairt of it to be possessed with suche wild savageis voide of Godis feare and our obedience."¹

Nor was this independence confined to the mere exacting of a tribute, according to "ancient custom", from those fishermen who, themselves coming under the denomination of "his Majesty's subjects", resorted occasionally to the coasts of the North-Western Isles. The Report of 1634 showed that this tax was rigorously levied by those Island kings when the alien fishermen arrived within the "bounds" of certain islands. But they did not content themselves with this. The Proclamation of the Scotch Privy Council of the following year (1635) begins by stating that "the Lords of Privy Counsell ar informed that of lait ther hes been manie great insolenceis committit be some of the inhabitants of the Yles of this kingdome not onlie upoun his Majesteis subjects hanting the trade of fisching in the Yles but upon the Lords and others of the Association² of the Royall Fishing of Great Britane and Ireland; whiche Ylanders comes in troupes and companeis *out of the Yles where they dwell* to the Yles and Loches where the fishes ar tane and there violentlie spoyles his Majesteis subjects of their fisches and sometimes of thair victualls and other furniture and persewes thame of their lyffes," etc. This statement reveals quite plainly a condition of enmity between "his Majesty's subjects" and certain sections of the Hebridean population. And the traveller, Pennant, furnishes additional proof of this state of things, in describing the condition of society in the Island of Skye (or its vicinity) at about the period under consideration. "Each chieftain (he tells us—and the "chieftains" of whom he speaks were presumably "his Majesty's subjects")—each chieftain had his armour-bearer, who preceded his master in time of war, and, by my author's account, in time of peace; for they went armed even to church, in the manner the North-Americans do at present in the frontier settlement, and for the same reason, *the dread of savages.*" Of

¹ *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 115.

² In a letter to the Privy Council of Scotland, of 15th July 1632, Charles refers to this Association as "of new erected by us".

which "savages" there are many traditions still extant in the legendary lore of the West Highlands.

Of more historical nature is the evidence of Buchanan, who, in describing the Inner Hebrides, during the sixteenth century, states that the Island of Pabbay, close to the Skye coast, was then "infamous for robberies, where the thieves, from their lurking-places in the woods, with which it is covered, intercept the unwary travellers." Of the island of Rona, lying a little to the northward of Pabbay, and, at that time, "covered with wood and heath", he says: "In a deep bay it has a harbour, dangerous for voyagers, as it affords a covert for pirates, whence to surprise the passengers." To the west of Skye, and in the Outer Hebrides, there was the island of Uist, containing "numerous caves covered with heath, the lurking-places of robbers". Off the mainland coast, to the north-east of Skye, lay "the island Eu, almost wholly covered with wood, and of service only to the robbers, who lurk there to surprise travellers"; while "more to the north lies Gruinort (says the same writer), also darkened with wood, and infested with robbers." That is to say, all of these districts *belonged* to certain races who waged war against other populations in that archipelago; and who, in all probability, were the "savages" referred to by the traveller, Pennant.

Of course, the term "savage" is comparative; and it is often used most incorrectly. Nevertheless, something that modern nomenclature calls "savage" was visible in that locality even last century. On one occasion, when Dr. Johnson and his irrepressible biographer were exploring those north-western islands, the natives who rowed their boat seemed, to Boswell, "so like wild Indians that a very little imagination was necessary to give one an impression of being upon an American river." One of them, he tells us, was "a robust, black-haired fellow, half naked, and bare-headed, something between a wild Indian and an English tar" (of the eighteenth century). And some of the McRaas of the mainland he describes as being "as black and wild in their appearance as any American savages whatever."¹

¹ Others of the same tribe were "as comely as Sappho"; and the inference is that, ethnologically regarded, these were totally different from the others. It must be remembered that the mere surname, borne by all the members of a Highland clan, did not imply kinship. The word "clan" was originally used to denote only the blood-relations of the chief; but latterly it was applied to the whole community. And that the commonalty was frequently composed of men of a wholly different stock from their chiefs, may be seen from the fact that the former are specially distinguished as "the native men" (*i.e.*, aborigines) in several clan documents.

Other tokens of "savage" customs might easily be adduced. For example, decaying specimens of the rude "dug-out", the most primitive of all canoes—a mere hollowed log—are now and then found in the depths of some Highland loch, or peat-bog; and are rashly pronounced to be "prehistoric"; whereas these very canoes were in common use in the north and west of Scotland less than two centuries ago.¹ However, neither this species of canoe, nor the vague references of Boswell, point unmistakably to the Ugrian or Mongoloid castes whom we are considering in this paper; although it is not unlikely that these latter were one and the same as the "wild Indians" and the owners of the "dug-outs".

What is certain is that, when in the October of 1599, one of the ships belonging to the Fifeshire colonists of the Lewis was about to start on its homeward trip, it was surrounded by "a fleet of small vessels peculiar to those islands", and the natives, swarming on board, put to death all except the captain.² Now (although the act was simply a legitimate incident in the warfare of the time and locality), these islanders were the people whom King James spoke of as "wild savages". And it is tolerably certain that their "small vessels" were those "slight pinnaces" of skin, that Armstrong says were "much in use in the Western Isles"—in other words, the *kayaks* of the Eskimos or Finn-men. It is not unlikely that the resemblance to the modern Eskimo was very close in many details. For example, the West Highland traditions tell of "savages" who played the game of chess; which fact in itself argues decidedly a form of civilisation. Now, although the art of carving chessmen is extinct among modern Hebrideans, the traditional accounts were quite borne out by the discovery, in this century, of the now famous "Lewis chessmen", "in all fifty-eight pieces, ingeniously and elaborately carved from the walrus tooth."³ Consequently, it would appear that the Finn-man occasionally hunted the walrus; in which pursuit he no doubt employed "the Dart he makes use of for killing Fish": exactly like a modern Eskimo.

But, admitting the existence, at so recent a date, of a visibly "Eskimo" caste in some parts of the Hebrides, what evidence is there that any of these people found their way to Shetland? One writer, we have seen, brings the Shetland Finns all the way from

¹ See Armstrong's *Gaelic Dictionary*, s. v. *Biorlinn*; also *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1880-81, pp. 179-80.

² Anderson's *Scottish Nation*, vol. iii, p. 49.

³ Dr. Daniel Wilson's *Old Edinburgh*, vol. i, p. 29.

Davis Straits, another draws them from Finland, and the Shetlanders themselves say that they "came ow'r fa Norraway", especially from the neighbourhood of Bergen. The correctness of this last belief need not be questioned, as regards some of that caste. But it has been suggested in the foregoing pages that many of those "Finns" who persecuted the Shetland fishermen were those kayak-using Hebrideans who avowed their ancient right to despoil and to exact tribute from others, not only when fishing among "the Isles where they dwell", but in other waters.

We read¹ of raids made in the Orkneys and Shetland, during the latter part of the fifteenth century, by "bands of Islemen (*i.e.*, Hebrideans), Irish, and Scots, from the woods"; which last term strongly suggests the "robber" denizens of the thickly wooded islands spoken of by Buchanan a century later. The raiders were, no doubt, heterogeneous. But the piratical kayak-men were surely among them. There are many traditions extant in some parts of the north-eastern archipelagos regarding these raids — in the island of Westray, in Orkney, for instance, where, at a certain "Fitty Hill", there was once a great fight between the Westray people and the invading Lewismen, all of whom were slain. Now, this Fitty Hill is associated strongly with the people recognisable as "Finns", or at least was so in the year 1701, according to a writer previously quoted (Brand), and both he and Wallace (who wrote in 1688) mention the frequent visits of Finn-men to the Westray fishing-grounds. Indeed, the *kayak* now in Edinburgh seems, according to the latter writer, to have been one of those secured by the Orkney-men; who probably made sure that the Finn himself should have no further use for it.

Thus, it is a simple historical fact that certain castes of the Hebrideans, whose practice of despoiling and exacting tribute from others was a thing beyond question, were very frequent visitors to the Orkney and Shetland groups, whose natives they did their utmost to overawe. And, as the skin skiffs of the Hebrideans were of such a description that the skiffmen "fearlessly committed themselves in these slight pinnaces to the mercy of the most violent weather", they were well qualified to sing the song of the Finn-man :

"I am a man upo' da land,
I am a selkie i da sea."

Indeed, the concluding lines of that verse are peculiarly appropriate

¹ See pp. 59, 378, and 485 of *The Orkneys and Shetland*, by J. R. Tudor; London, 1883.

to the Hebridean. For if the "Shöol skerry" was the rocky islet of *Sule* or *Sula*, which lies about forty miles N.N.E. of Cape Wrath, it formed a very convenient refuge for him when "far from every strand", during his voyages between Shetland or Orkney and the Hebrides.

And it is in this aspect, as tyrannical sea-rovers, that the "Finns" are often remembered in Shetlandic tradition. It was their custom to pursue the boats of the Shetland fishermen, and to exact from them a tribute in "silver money". So much were they dreaded that "it was dangerous in the extreme to say anything against them". The original feeling of respect must have been very strong, since it has survived into the present century.

This, of course, relates to the Finns considered as men and as fighters. The other side of the question shows us the Finn-women, and also the Finn-men, in peaceful guise. And here, too, it is evident that those people were by no means regarded as an *inferior* race by the non-Finnish section of the Shetlanders (whatever that non-Finnish element may have been composed of), for those who claim a "Finn descent" at the present day regard this line of their ancestry as wholly superior to that which, for want of a better word, may be called "Shetlandic".

The Finn women, we are told, very frequently became the wives of the islanders; and, consequently, they became the mothers of "half-breed" families—that is, in those cases where the husband himself was of a wholly different stock. In some instances, owing to a Finn connection in the previous generation, such children may have been more Finnish than anything else. Many of the Finn wives seem to have cast in their lot altogether with their Shetland husbands, to whom they brought dowries of cattle, which—according to the peasant tradition—they "conjured up from the deep", of which the probable interpretation is that they caused them to be sent across from Bergen. Peaceful memories of the Finn men may also be traced in such things as the rhyme of the medicine-man who "came o'wr fa Norraway" to conjure the tooth-ache out of some unhappy Shetlander.

But these references, and apparently all the more recent of the Shetlandic traditions, point to Norway, and not to the Hebrides, as the home of the Finns; and it seems quite clear that the Bergen neighbourhood was a stronghold of this Mongoloid people within recent times.

Mr. H. Howorth,¹ in discussing these Mongoloid, or Ugrian

¹ In the *Ethnological Society's Journal*, vol. ii, No. 4.

people, remarks : "The Finns and Laps have been pushed back in Scandinavia to a very small portion of their ancient holding. In Livonia, in Esthonia, and in three-fourths of European Russia the Ugrians were, even in the eleventh century, the preponderating population"; that is, Esthonia and Livonia then formed a part of "Finland", and the Gulf of Riga was a Finnish sea. We are not given a date as to their "preponderance" in Scandinavia; but, if they were so numerous in the East Baltic districts during the eleventh century, it may be assumed they were also of considerable importance in the Scandinavian peninsula at the same time, and even much later.

There is, at any rate, a very interesting reference to Finns of Swedish nationality, made in connection with these Finns of Orkney. A last-century reader of Wallace's *Description of Orkney* (whose occasional comments upon that book are included in the reprint of 1883) gives, as his opinion, that the "Finn-men" of Orkney, in the years 1682-4, belonged to "the Finns, or inhabitants of Finland, part of the kingdom of Sweden". Whether this writer meant the Finns of Esthonia and Livonia, or of Finland proper—for all these provinces were under Swedish rule in the seventeenth century—it is evident that he went too far afield for his "Finn-men". But what really is important is the statement which he goes on to make, incidentally, with regard to the Finns of Sweden. "They had", he says, "a settlement in Pennsylvania, near the freshes of the river Delaware, in the neighbourhood of the Dutch, who were the first planters here" (and he gives as his authority *The British Empire in America*, vol. i, p. 309).

Now, this colony of Swedish *Finns* is clearly that which is otherwise spoken of as a colony of *Swedes*. When William Penn took possession, in the year 1682, of the territory which has ever since been associated with his memory, those "Swedes" were already settled there. "'He was hailed there with acclamation by the Swedes and Dutch,' says one authority, who informs us that the Swedes were living in log cabins and clay huts. The men dressed in 'leather breeches, jerkins, and match coats', the women 'in skin jackets and linsey petticoats'."¹ Those *Swedes*, then, of 1682, are identified by an eighteenth-century writer with the Swedish *Finns* of that period, and at the same time with the contemporary Finns of Orkney: who, also, according to Brand, wore "coats of leather".

¹ This is taken from an article on the Founding of Philadelphia; contributed by the Rev. Dr. Stoughton to *The Sunday at Home*, 1882.

And their "log cabins and clay huts" were probably very much like the sod-covered dwellings of modern Lapps.

It is an interesting picture. Because this is plainly an infusion of unadulterated "Eskimo" blood, among the Pennsylvanians of that date, which is quite independent of the representatives of that family at present occupying Greenland and the northern parts of British North America. It is "Eskimo" blood that was "European" only two or three centuries ago. And it is quite likely that many modern Americans whose descent is drawn from those colonists who are vaguely styled "Pennsylvania-Dutch" have some of this blood in their veins. That they may have inherited a further share of it through other channels—"British," and perhaps also "Dutch"—is quite probable.

There is something very suggestive in the Shetland accounts that, several generations ago, Shetland fishermen were frequently terrorised into paying "silver money" as tribute to people who are said to have come across from Bergen. Many portions of the north-eastern corner of Scotland appear to have been within the diocese of Bergen, and to have owned the authority of that province up to very modern times. Of this there is ample evidence in title-deeds and other documents. This, of course, was a survival of the Scandinavian suzerainty over the extreme north and west of Scotland, which in the fifteenth century was actual sovereignty as regards Orkney and Shetland; while, for the Hebrides, the Scottish monarchs had to pay a yearly tribute known as "The Annual of Norway". And at an earlier period still, the Sudereys, or South Hebrides, and the Isle of Man, were included in this tributary kingdom. It is certainly worth considering whether the withdrawal of the legendary "marine people" from the Isle of Man, and their gradual disappearance (as "marine people") from the whole western and northern extremities of Scotland, which seems to coincide very closely, in time, with the decay of Scandinavian authority in these localities, ought not to be regarded as signifying that that authority was rooted in Mongoloid supremacy.¹

¹ Bergen is so much associated with the "Finns" of Shetlandic tradition that it is at least worthy of notice that a special caste, known as *Strils* (pronounced "Streels"), who are very primitive in character, and who are regarded by the neighbouring Norwegians as of a different stock from their own, still inhabit the numerous islands that protect Bergen from the ocean. "They speak Norwegian after a fashion of their own, but it is very difficult to understand them, and there is reason to suppose that their idioms have a Samoyede root." ("Bergen", by Lieut. G. T. Temple, R.N., in *Good Words*, 1880, p. 767 *et seq.*)

However, our present purpose is not to guess at the name or names by which these people must be known to history, but to emphasise their existence as a Mongoloid race. That the present British people show traces of such a line of ancestry is the opinion of many modern ethnologists. In his *Origins of English History* Mr. Elton recognises a type "not unlike the modern Eskimo", as existent in certain parts of England. Mr. J. F. Campbell, in his *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, contends strongly for the past existence in that locality of a race akin to modern Lapps. And the Iberian theorists discern a similar type in "the small swarthy Welshman", "the small, dark Highlander", and the "Black Celts to the west of the Shannon". The question of complexion is, of course, but of minor importance, since it is anatomical structure that determines affinity. The modern Eskimo races themselves show this, for they include all shades, from dark or olive to actual red and white; although plainly of one general stock.

They exhibited an American-Eskimo chief, "as a Rarity", at some of the eastern seaports of Scotland, a few years ago. But it is probable that a considerable number of the spectators were looking at a man who almost exactly resembled one or more of their own ancestors, not many generations back; not only in the style of his dress and in his general appearance, as he shot his slender kayak across their waters, but also, to a very great extent, in his physical features. And it is much the same with many millions of Europeans (and their offshoots), who, chiefly through intermixture, and partly on account of altered conditions of life, are no longer recognisable, to a superficial observer, as in any degree connected with this "Eskimo" stock.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

NOTES FROM THE NORTH HIGHLANDS.

I.—TURNING THE HEART.

THIS form of health-charm is still largely practised in the counties of Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness. The popular notion, on the belief of which the charm is founded is, that by sudden fright, physical overstrain, the adverse influence of the evil eye, or disappointed love, the heart of the sufferer has been displaced and organically injured, and the object of the charm is to rectify this displacement and remedy the attending lesion.

The charm-secret is in the hereditary keeping of some persons who occupy a good position in society, and are entirely removed above the suspicion of exercising their "gift" for profit, much less for any sinister purpose. They are, for the most part, reluctant to engage in rites which, however innocent in their own honest belief, are understood to be regarded as unholy by their spiritual guides. "I learned the secret from my pious grandmother, who, when disabled by years and many frailties—when, indeed, on her death-bed—was wont to employ me to perform these rites for her, in order to give what relief she could to many anxious mothers resorting to her from far and near. I just did then, step by step, what she directed me to do, and I do so now when, from the same motives, I cannot help yielding to the earnest desires of the afflicted ones who seek my help." This was the good lady's apology and explanation, as she set about the rites which I shall now describe.

The primary materials of the charm were lead and water. The lead was placed on the fire in a small pot or crucible, without handle. It seemed to be a needful part of the charm that the human hand should not touch the crucible, which was taken off the fire and carried to the water in the grip of a small pair of ordinary fire-tongs. The vessel containing the water must not touch the ground. It was placed on a small wooden frame, but not in contact therewith. Over the top of this wooden frame a pair of scissors and a horn comb were crossed, and over this cross of metal and organic substance was placed a small tub or "luggie", containing the water. Now came the crisis. The crucible of molten lead, held in the grip of the tongs, was poured from some height into

the water, in which the falling stream of molten metal solidified in a great variety of curious shapes. These variously shaped pieces of lead were all carefully passed in review, and if one of them was a well-shaped heart, then the patient's heart was all right, and there was no need to go further with the charm. But if there was no well-formed heart, or nothing like a heart, then the whole of the lead was returned to the crucible, to be again, and if need be, many times, operated upon in the same way. If something more or less resembling a heart were found, the process was repeated, in the belief that further approaches to a well-shaped heart in the metal would be accompanied by similarly ameliorative progress towards the patient's recovery. But if, after many trials, no well-shaped heart was found in the water, then the friends of the sufferer must prepare for the worst.

Two points must here be observed: 1. The patient is not usually brought to the charm-worker—is, in fact, for the most part, an entire stranger to the charm-worker, who can, therefore, get no help or “wrinkles” for diagnosis from such physical signs or indications as the patient's breathing or looks, the presence or absence of œdema under the eyes, the tumidity, or normal condition of the veins of the neck, or the pulsations of the carotid arteries. 2. Whatever the quantity of lead, and whatever the proportions of its volume to the volume of water, such a thing as *two* hearts the charm-worker never expects to encounter. If ever such a phenomenon is met with, the patient must be a woman, and if unmarried, the outcome is “a misfortune”. Medical readers will remember the one and only decisive indication in certain delicate medico-legal inquiries.

It should be added that all through this charm-working there was noticed nothing in the way of incantation or any sort of mummary. Everything was open, if also hushed, solemn, and I should add, for want of a better word, frightened-like. The operator's position in society is such, that any suggestion of fee or reward would be keenly resented. She has “the deposit from her grandmother”. She honestly wishes she knew nothing about it. She knows that the culture of the day, and perhaps also the piety of her spiritual guides, are against it. But when heavy-hearted, afflicted mothers come to her for relief, what can she do? Her grandmother was a good, pious woman; she cannot err in doing as she did in her day.

The use of the *comb* in this charm may suggest an explanation of its place on our old sculptured stones. So also with the scissors.

II.—LUCK.

In the opening "springtime of the year" the Highlander of the North is still on the outlook for omens of the season's luck, good or ill. Here is a Gaelic rhyme of evil omens that is still much in his heart, and sometimes also on his lips :

"Chunnaic mi selicheag air lar lom ;
Chunnaic mi searrach is earball rium ;
Chac a chubhac air mo cheann ;
Is dh' aithnich mi rachadh a bhliain' ad lium."

"I saw a snail on bare ground ;
I saw a foal with his tail towards me ;
I heard the cuckoo *before breaking fast* ;
And I knew that that year would not go with me."

The two omens of bad luck here first mentioned may have some foundation in the undoubted facts of nature. If the first snail you see in the spring be still on bare ground, the chances are that it is so because the season is cold and the spring late, with little grass for flocks and herds. It will, in fact, be a bad lambing year. The second omen has a closer connection with the former than at first appears. I have noticed that a healthy foal or lamb is quick to catch the sound of approaching footsteps. His head will be turned to watch ere yet you catch sight of him. If he is sickly, or a weakling, he lies still and takes little notice. But the third omen is a double-barrelled puzzler. I have translated it periphrastically. The literal translation is unfit for ears or eyes polite. The reader who desires to dive deeper, had better turn to his Gaelic dictionary for the verb *cac*. How the breakfastless human early bird in search of the morning worm is said to be so "fouled" by the soft-voiced cuckoo, bent in all probability on the same errand, is more than I can divine. Yet true it is, that the omens are few indeed which the young Highlander more eagerly shuns than *chac a chubhac orm*. I have known, forty years ago, a sober, intelligent Highland minister, who made the fear of this omen, or his belief in its foundation in some salutary lesson of nature, his excuse for never omitting his "morning". The "night-cap" he could well go without. But the morning "bitters" were regular and indispensable as the morning prayers. The omens here mentioned of good and ill-luck are special omens of the springtide. The bird omens for all the year round, such as the magpie's perching on an inhabited house—a much-feared omen of approaching death

—are in the North Highlands much the same as elsewhere, and in times as “hoary olden” as Ovid’s *magna fides avium*.

But the changing habits of some birds have, within my own day, drawn the teeth of omens once greatly feared. In my early days, “of all the birds in the air”—as we used to say in the old counting-out game—the wariest was the common rook. When this shy bird rested on man’s dwelling it was the sure omen of a death in the family. But since then, what with the cutting down of old rookeries, and what with the spread of all-changing villadom, *rus in urbe*, or rather *urbs in rure*, the common rook is well-nigh as bold an intruder as Jackdaw. He invades our poultry yards and pigeon-houses; there he is, as I write, sitting on the vestry of my church, close to my study window, with a veritable eggshell before him. It may have been on my breakfast table half an hour ago, but I would not like to make affidavit to that effect. Any way, “good parson Rook, with thy little book, we fear thy omens no more. Thy boldness has wrought in us that familiarity that breeds contempt.” Not so with holy Robin, whose ruddy breast, blood-stained on Calvary, his winter confidence in man notwithstanding, is shield and sure defence, as sacred to-day to the city rough as of old it was to the thoughtful, much believing Highland laddie.

One other item of North Highland folk-lore I must here put on record ere the facts have vanished from a too treacherous memory. It concerns the breakfast table, and its special topic is

III.—DEAR SALT.

Talking last week to an aged lady of 86, about the Salt Syndicate so much talked about in these days, and so much feared and cursed in our Scotch fishing villages, she reminded me that not very long ago salt was so heavily taxed in this country as to become a choice commodity of the smuggler. When my aged relative was a girl, the ordinary price of common salt was 5*d.* for two pounds. When the smuggler’s sloop put into some lonely creek of the great Highland sea lochs, the news sped far and near with characteristic secrecy, and great was the joy of thrifty housewives. Under cover of night they paid stealthy visits to the ship, carrying away heavy backburdens of the precious condiment, for which they gladly paid the large price of 3*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* the peck. At that time a dozen of eggs sold for 3*d.*, and fresh butter was counted dear at 4*d.* a pound. In the far inland straths and glens a smuggling intermediary plied his perilous trade with

horse and packsaddle. This land smuggler of salt was, indeed, a well-known character in the North Highlands some seventy years ago. One of them, his occupation gone, was a noted character in my native parish. As a boy, I knew him under the name of *Murchadh'n t-Shallain*, Murdo of the Salt. My aged relative gave me some graphic pictures of the old Highland housewives' wily stratagems to elude the gauger, whom they feared when salt-raiding as much as if their burdens were smuggled whisky.

DONALD MASSON.

THE ANGLO-SAXONS AT ROME.¹

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IT is well known how great was in the early Middle Ages the multitude of foreigners, especially from the Teutonic countries newly converted to the Christian faith, who came to Rome after long and laborious travels, in the dress and with the devotion of pilgrims, to visit the holy places of the Christian metropolis, and above all the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul. Amongst these pious visitors we soon begin to observe the Anglo-Saxons, or Saxons, as they are indifferently called by the early writers and chroniclers.

Shortly after the time of Gregory the Great, most frequent and intimate relations bound to the Eternal City the newly Christianised people of England, who had turned themselves to her with all the enthusiastic fervour of new converts. From that time they began to visit, in large crowds, the tomb of the Apostles (*limina Apostolorum*), initiating that long series of pilgrimages, of which many interesting records have been left to us by the English chroniclers, beginning with Bede.

In fact, this last writer, speaking of his countrymen's journeys to Rome, expressly says "that noblemen and plebeians, lay people and clergymen, men and women, used to rival each other" in their zeal for visiting their spiritual mother. As later on the Normans

¹ A Lecture read before the British and American Archæological Society at Rome.

for the Sanctuary of St. Michael Archangel, so the Anglo-Saxons had a special devotion for St. Peter's tomb, and going on pilgrimage to Rome was looked on, from the first half of the seventh century, as an "action of singular virtue", to use the words of Bede himself. Add then to this that the Anglo-Saxons, like the Normans later, even in things pertaining to religion, showed an inclination towards travel and adventure. And surely, a travel to Rome at those times was not an ordinary enterprise, taking into account the political and social conditions of Europe. There were a great number of states to traverse, large or small, which, with every kind of high-handed injustice, endeavoured to extort from the poor pilgrims, or *roméi*, as they were called, the supplies that they carried for their own sustenance. Heavy tolls had to be paid before passing the boundaries of kingdoms, at the gates of towns, at the bridges on the highroads, at the fords of rivers. The roads were badly kept and insecure, being infested by robbers, by highwaymen of every sort, and, worst of all, by the feudatory nobles and their cut-throats. Besides all this, the poor pilgrim now and then fell in with an enemy still more terrible, because invincible—the plague. Dangers of the same kind did not fail in Rome, nor in the surrounding Campagna, where *malaria* and the cruel greediness of the Roman barons were equally fatal.

The pilgrimage to Rome was often the consequence of a vow. Oswy, King of the Northumbrians, made a vow to come to Rome, if he recovered his health, and to end his life in one of the monasteries which had been erected around the Vatican Basilica. We know that Oswy did not accomplish his vow; but it is certain (and we learn it also from a letter of condolence by Pope Vitalian, dated A.D. 665) that an envoy of the king, by name Wighard, came to Rome, where shortly afterwards he and nearly all his companions were cut off by a pestilence, due probably to the *malaria*, which proved so often fatal to visitors at Rome. So great was the number of those who took vows for a pilgrimage to Rome and then found it too difficult to keep their promise, that in the year 680 Agatho allowed them to solve such a vow by paying a visit to the Church of St. Peter at Medeshamstede or Peterborough. The visit to Rome made by Ceadwalla (Caduallus or Cedual), King of the West Saxons, formed a famous event in ecclesiastical history. He having shortly before embraced the Christian faith, wished to put on the white robe of the Catechumens, and to receive baptism by the very tomb of the Apostle Peter. He was baptised, in fact, by Pope Sergius I, on the morning of Holy Saturday, A.D. 689, in the

Baptistery of the Vatican Basilica, and during the solemn ceremony the pontiff imposed on him the name of *Peter*. A short time afterwards, the young sovereign, at the age of about thirty years, died, and to his body an honourable place of rest was given in the *Atrium* of the Vatican Basilica, just beside the tombs of the Roman emperors. His epitaph, in Latin verses, long and high-flown, dictated perhaps by Benedict, Archbishop of Milan, was still to be read in St. Peter's in the sixteenth century, and has been reproduced very often by those who have written on the history and monuments of that Basilica. Bede also quotes the inscription in full with perfect exactness: a fact which we may take as an additional proof of his historical accuracy.

A few years afterwards, by the side of Ceadwalla, the mortal remains of two other Anglo-Saxon princes found a final resting-place—Offa of Essex and Coenred of Mercia, who had renounced their crowns and embraced the monastic life in one of the cloisters built near the Vatican, or, as the old chroniclers say, received *the tonsure of St. Peter*; an expression which is used to distinguish Christian Roman tonsure from Celtic or *Druidical tonsure*. The latter was a remain of the old Celtic superstition, which had often been a cause of fierce controversy between the Roman Church and the British clergy.

A few years later (A.D. 758) the above-mentioned sovereigns were imitated by Wadbert, King of Northumbria, who having come to Rome, abdicated the crown in favour of his own son Oswulf, and he also received St. Peter's tonsure in one of the Vatican cloisters.

Already from the beginning of the eighth century, or in a still earlier time, there must have resided near the Vatican a flourishing Anglo-Saxon colony, composed for the greatest part of ecclesiastics. Of this fact, which has not been noticed by any of the writers on the subject, I find an indication in a Bull of Pope John VII, dated A.D. 705. In this important document the Pope, writing to the archbishops, bishops, and the whole clergy in England, announces to them that, having gathered a meeting of all the most distinguished English ecclesiastics who at that time dwelt by St. Peter's, he persuaded them to dismiss their lay dresses and to adopt thenceforward long robes—*secundum morem Romanorum*. It may be that the building where those ecclesiastics dwelt was nothing else but the Anglo-Saxon School or College, which we find expressly mentioned in some documents not many years later, of which I am now going to speak.

But first let me say a few words about the *scholae peregrinorum*, or schools of foreigners in general. In the Middle Ages at Rome, as well as in other towns of Italy and of Europe, the foreign inhabitants formed a special class, quite apart from the citizens properly so called. Like the associations of arts and trades, the foreigners were constituted in special corporate bodies, that, by a term already adopted from the Greeks by the Romans of the Imperial epoch, were called *scholae* (guilds); *schola* was also applied to the building where each of these corporations usually met or resided. A *prior*, or *rector*, or *primicerius*, presided over the school, and the members of it were generally known under the denomination of *scholastici* or *scholenses*. Such an organisation was all the more easy and advantageous, as during the whole of the Middle Ages foreigners were wont to live in special quarters of the town.

The best known of these are the *scholae* of the northern foreigners, who lived on the right bank of the Tiber, in proximity to St. Peter's Basilica—the goal of their long peregrinations. The Vatican ground was called in those times *Campus Neronianus*, or *Naumachia*; and there were yet to be seen considerable remains of the magnificent constructions which had belonged to the gardens and circus of Nero. Of these, the most conspicuous was the gigantic Caligula's obelisk (called then *Agulia*), the subject of so many curious legends, excited in the imagination of those rude and simple-minded northern pilgrims by the daily sight of that singular monument, which was then alone erect and intact in the midst of so many ruins.

Here, close to the sacred tomb of the Apostle Peter, with the aid of the popes and the princes and the wealthy people of their own nations, these foreigners built side by side of each other strong edifices and formed pious associations with special regard to the poor pilgrims coming from their own countries. A church, a group of houses with an hospice for the poor and the sick, a cemetery, formed, according to the custom of the time, the centre of every nation's quarter. In the very same way, as we learn from the Acts of the Apostles, the Jews of foreign lands had gathered themselves around the Temple of Jerusalem and formed the synagogues of the Libertines, the Cyrenians, the Alexandrians, and the Cilicians.

It belongs to the history of the different nations to show what influence on the life and culture of the respective northern people these institutions may have exerted, planted as they were in the centre of Christianity and of Roman civilisation, just at the time

when these populations, still in the age of infancy, as we might say, were scarcely beginning to emerge from the state of superstition and barbarism in which they had lived till then. It is easy to understand how the pilgrimages to Rome and the schools established in the centre of Christianity and of Latin culture must have been very powerful instruments to spread in the northern countries of Europe Roman customs, education, and art.

In the course of the eighth century we already see that in the Vatican territory, on the southern side, and precisely on the left of the long portico which then carried visitors from the gate called of St. Peter, or Golden (*Aurea*), or *in Hadrianio*, at the end of the Aelian Bridge, there had been established the schools of the Longobards, of the Frisians, of the Franks, and of the Anglo-Saxons. The last mentioned, the *Schola Anglorum* or *Schola Saxonum*, was the oldest and the most flourishing. Its buildings, much more considerable, as it appears, than those belonging to the other northern schools, were situated on the bank of the Tiber, on the ground which is now occupied partly by the Hospital of *Santo Spirito*, and extends from it to the foot of a hill that, from some remains of Neronian constructions, was called *Palatium* or *Palazzolo*; this name, observe, serving also to distinguish the ruins in question from the more considerable remains of the great Neronian circus. The district or quarter occupied by the school of the Anglo-Saxons was called *Saxia*, *Saxonia*, or simply *Burgus*, the last being a denomination that, as a contemporary writer expressly says, was adopted from the language of the Anglo-Saxons themselves (*burg*, *burrogh*). The street running along in front of the buildings had received the name of *Vicus Saxonum*, or *Street of the Saxons*; the church, forming the centre of the quarter, was dedicated to Mary, Mother of Christ (*Ecclesia Sanctae Mariae Genitricis*), and corresponded in situation to the present church of *Santo Spirito*. When, afterwards, Pope Leo IV, in the middle of the eighth century, according to the plan of fortification which had been conceived by his predecessor, Leo III, to protect the Vatican district from the incursions of the Saracens, surrounded with walls the town after him called Leonine (*Civitas Leonina*), the gate that was opened in the side of the walls corresponding to the present *Porta Santo Spirito*, was distinguished with the name of *Posterula Saxonum*, the gate of the Saxons. The Neronian bridge, or rather its ruins, were called the bridge of the Saxon quarter (*Pons in Saxia*).

Some further topographical indications about our *Schola* may be derived from close examination of the precious fragments of

two Bulls of Agapitus II and John XII, edited and illustrated by the learned Marini, in his collection of the *Papiri Diplomatici*. From these documents we learn that at the extremity of the quarter there was the *Portus Major* of the Tiber, where ships arrived carrying to Rome goods and passengers. This topographical indication as to our *Schola* might be adduced as a fit argument to support an opinion expressed by an anonymous writer of a Vatican manuscript, that the site of the *Schola Saxonum* was chosen just by the Tiber, to suit the convenience of those Anglo-Saxon pilgrims who came to Rome by sea.

From the beginning of the eighth century there are records of pilgrims or visitors, especially Franks (for instance, envoys of Charlemagne), who came to and from Rome *marino itinere*, that is, by sea. Therefore it is quite likely (and some facts might be quoted in support of this conjecture) that some of the Anglo-Saxons, too, if not directly from their native island, at least from France, may have come to Ostia by sea, and thence by the Tiber to the above-mentioned *Portus Major* of Rome, landing just at their national quarter, the *Vicus Saxonum* or *Saxia*.

By whom and when was founded this *Schola Saxonum* or *Anglorum*—for it is called in both ways by mediæval chroniclers and writers? In the year 725, Ina, King of the West Saxons, accompanied by his queen, came as a pilgrim to Rome, where he died three years afterwards, having renounced the crown and devoted himself to a holy life. To this monarch is commonly attributed, even by some modern writers, the foundation of a *school* or college, where should be educated the young clergymen that were to go to England as missionaries, and wherein Anglo-Saxon pilgrims should be provided with lodging and sustenance. It is also added that King Ina, to endow that college, obliged every family in his kingdom to pay annually a penny to the Roman Church; and this might have been the origin of Peter's pence. But this narrative rests entirely upon the authority of English chroniclers and other writers later than the twelfth or the thirteenth century; whilst Bede, who was contemporary with King Ina, though expressly speaking of his journey to Rome, does not say anything about the foundation of the school, nor of Ina's having instituted Peter's pence. Therefore, some English authorities of our days, amongst whom is Brewer, have stated that the credit of those two institutions must be attributed to another English sovereign, to Offa, King of Mercia. But it seems to me that even this opinion cannot be entirely approved by criticism.

In fact, writers say that in the year 793, Offa II, to atone for the crime with which he had stained his glory and successes by treacherously murdering Æthelbert, King of the East Angles, whilst sojourning at his court as a suitor for his daughter, came to Rome as a pilgrim; and other chroniclers add also that in order to show his gratitude towards Pope Hadrian I, who had granted important privileges to the Monastery of St. Alban, Offa next day engaged all the families in his kingdom to contribute a silver penny for the support of the Anglo-Saxon school, which, as it is expressly stated, at that time was already flourishing (*quæ tunc Romæ floruit*). This evidence then proves that only the institution of Peter's pence is to be attributed to Offa, and not also the origin of the *Schola*. Thus the founder of this college remains unknown to us; but its origin may be traced back to an epoch anterior to Offa and to that of Ina himself. Indeed, as I have hinted above, I am inclined to think that it already existed in the times of Pope John VII, who, in his Bull dated A.D. 705, speaks of a numerous Anglo-Saxon colony, composed for the most part of ecclesiastics, living in the neighbourhood of St. Peter's. And, as I have already advanced, it is probable that it was into the same school, and not into any other of the cloisters surrounding the Vatican Basilica, that those Anglo-Saxon kings and princes retired to a religious life, who, according to the early chroniclers, abandoned the world to end their mortal career in the vicinity of Peter's tomb. I am led to the same conclusion by a passage—also of great importance for our subject—which we read in the chronicle of Matthew of Westminster, where the chronicler, speaking of the Anglo-Saxon school at Rome, tells us that it had been instituted in order that the kings of England and the princes of royal blood, together with the bishops and clergy of the same country, might there be instructed in the orthodox doctrine and faith, to prevent errors creeping into the British Church.

Although religious teaching must have been the chief scope of the education imparted in our *school*, still literary teaching and secular culture were not at all neglected, as we find that they, far from being neglected, were given great attention to, both in the different schools of religious character instituted by the Popes at the Lateran or the Vatican, and in the *school* of the Franks, at the head of which Charlemagne ordered clergymen to be placed who were students of literature.

Then as regards our Anglo-Saxon *Schola*, this fact, as it appears to me, is expressly confirmed by the St. Alban's monk

who wrote the *Life of Offa*, when he says that the school at Rome had been established for the study of the English people and the education of pilgrims (*propter Anglorum studium et illuc peregrinantium eruditionem*). In this way that school, besides being a charitable institution for the sustenance and support of the poor or sick amongst the English pilgrims, must also have been the centre of Anglo-Latin culture and an efficient factor for spreading throughout England Western civilisation, represented then by the Church of Rome.

In comparison with the other schools of the Vatican territory, that of the Anglo-Saxons enjoyed a somewhat privileged position. Strict and hard were the provisions which, in the early Middle Ages, at Rome, and especially in the Leonine city, regulated the juridical and political condition of the foreigners, who were, generally speaking, in a much inferior position to that of the citizens. It was undoubtedly a result of the contempt with which the Romans of old looked on the unpolished *peregrinus*.

The foreign inhabitants of the Leonine town were formerly subject to the jurisdiction of the Pontiff or of the Vatican Basilica; but a portion of this jurisdiction was at a later time conferred on the Church of the Saviour (the one now called of the "Campo Santo dei Tedeschi" by the Vatican Sacristy). To this church, amongst other privileges, the right was granted both of burying in its cemetery all the ultramontane pilgrims who died in the Leonine city, and of taking possession of the property left by the dead, which should have gone to the *Fiscus*, that is, to the Pontifical Treasury.

Now the Anglo-Saxon School, which was also subject to the jurisdiction of the Vatican Basilica and of St. Saviour's Church, obtained through Bulls of Leo IV and Leo IX the privilege to bury in its own cemetery or church all the English pilgrims dying either in the Vatican district or during their journey to Rome, and it was also allowed, perhaps, to come into possession of all property left by them. In this way we may explain the fact that the *Schola Saxonum* was obliged to pay each year some rent, as an acknowledgment, to the Church of St. Saviour.

The Vatican Basilica exerted its supremacy on the Saxon School in various ways, and chiefly by appointing the priests and other ecclesiastics who should direct it: the Pontiff, on his side, appointed its chief priest or *prior*, that is to say, the head of the institution. The chief duty of those clergymen, after the teaching and practical management of the school, was to act as guides to the

English pilgrims, by leading them to visit the holy places as well as the ancient sites and monuments of the town. These visits or excursions made here of old by the Anglo-Saxons have left some trace in the historical and archæological literature relating to Rome. Of this I had proposed to afford some evidence, but the details would take too much space without adequate reward. Suffice it to say that the legend, "Whilst stands the Colosseum, etc.", and another of the equestrian statues, now known as of Marcus Aurelius—at one time supposed of Constantine—are both found in English sources, and had origin probably in the Anglo-Saxon School.

From writers and chroniclers of the time, or little later, we get some scattered and meagre, but still precious, notices relating to the history and vicissitudes of our school during the course of the Middle Ages. I shall only relate the most interesting of these.

A notable event, which finds a marked place in the mediæval history of Rome, is the solemn entrance made into the Eternal City, in November 799, by Pope Leo III, on his return from a visit to Charlemagne. He was met at the Ponte Molle by the whole court, the clergy, the noble ladies, the civic militia, and also the *Scholæ Peregrinorum*, that is, the schools of the Frisians, the Franks, the Longobards, and the Anglo-Saxons. From a passage in the biography of that Pope, which refers to the event in question, we learn a peculiar feature in the arrangement of those schools, namely, that in the solemn processions or meetings, in which they seem to have always taken part, as they did sometimes in the military defence of the town, the schools were wont to bear before them *signa et banda* (ensigns and banners). Ensigns, like those used by Roman armies, represented figures of animals, such as wolves, lions, eagles, bears, and dragons, etc., whence it happened that the men who carried them were called *lupiferi*, *aquiliferi*, *draconarii*, etc. *Banda*, then, were flags or banners: and of their peculiar fashion and form we can get an idea from a monument of the time, happily existing yet: the mosaic of Leo III's *Triclinium* at the Lateran, where Charlemagne is represented at the side of Leo in the act of receiving a banner or standard from the hands of St. Peter.

During the year 817 a fire damaged very severely the buildings of the *Vicus Saxonum*: the damages were afterwards restored by Pope Paschal II at the expense of the Pontifical Treasury. Not many years afterwards, in 847, a second fire, still more violent, burst out in the Leonine city, and caused heavy losses and damages

to nearly all the foreign quarters and other buildings surrounding the old Vatican Basilica; but that which suffered most damage was the *Anglo-Saxon School*, which came nearly to total destruction. The loss suffered by the same school was this time repaired by the order, and at the expense, both of Pope Leo IV and of King Æthelwulf of Wessex, who happened to be in Rome, where he stayed about a twelvemonth. This is the famous fire of the *Borgo*, painted by Raphael in the rooms of the Vatican.

Another Anglo-Saxon subject, as I might say, painted also by Raphael, in the Vatican Rooms, is the visit paid to the Vatican Basilica by King Æthelwulf, whom I have already mentioned. Æthelwulf came to Rome in A.D. 855, as Asser clearly states, whilst other chroniclers and writers do not agree about the exact date of his arrival here.

But it is more interesting to learn that, in the year 853, Ælfred, the fourth son of King Æthelwulf, came to Rome.¹ He was then a mere boy; but the Pope, Leo IV, took a great fancy to the future ruler and civiliser of England, for he adopted him as his own spiritual son, and, in sign of great distinction, invested the young prince with the dignity of Roman consulship, conferring on him publicly the girdle and the other peculiar *insignia* of Roman consuls. These details we draw from a letter addressed by the same Pope to Ælfred's father, before he himself came to Rome.

Not many years after Ælfred and King Æthelwulf, Burrhed, King of Mercia, having been banished from his own kingdom by the Danish invaders, came to Rome as an exile, and in the year 874 (as we learn from Roger's *Annals*) he died in the Saxon School. His body was buried with great pomp (*more regum*) in the contiguous Church of St. Maria in Saxia.

Canute, King of Denmark and of England, also visited Rome as an humble pilgrim: it is not well ascertained whether once or twice. It appears, from a letter which he addressed to the English clergy, that he must have been in this city in the year 1027, when the Emperor of Germany, Conrad II, was also here for the purpose of his coronation. From the same letter we learn that he had obtained from the Pope of the time, John XIX, certain privileges for English pilgrims coming to Rome, and especially that the Anglo-

¹ Asserius, in *Annales Alfredi*: "Æthelwulphus rex filium suum Ælfredum magno nobilium et etiam ignobilium numero constipatum honorifice Romam transmisit. . . ." In 855 Alfred visited Rome again with his father, who "cum magno honore Romam perrexit, prae fatumque filium suum Ælfredum . . . in eandem viam secum ducens, ibique anno integro remoratus est."

Saxon School there should be free from every tribute and taxation (*ab omni tributo et teloneo*), as these burdens seem to have been levied with great harshness on the foreign inhabitants of the town. In fact, this was not a new concession, but the confirmation of a privilege previously yielded by Pope Marinus II, at the request of King Alfred, but which had in short time been practically abolished.

From the first half of the eleventh century down to the time of Innocent III no further mention is found of our school ; it must have remained abandoned on account of the long contests between the Church and the Empire. Moreover, it is to be remembered that the religious enthusiasm aroused by the Crusades caused a deviation of pilgrimages from Rome to the Holy Land, from the tomb of St. Peter to the sepulchre of the Saviour. Then the troubled condition of England before and after the period of the Norman Conquest must also have contributed to diminish the number of the Anglo-Saxons journeying to Rome. It was just on account of the seditious state of that kingdom that Pope Leo IX, in A.D. 1051, released Edward the Confessor from the vow he had made to come in pilgrimage to Rome. Then, in pursuance of the directions of the Pontiff, Edward employed the money he had first destined for the pilgrimage to build the church of Westminster Abbey, which he dedicated to St. Peter. The church was demolished during the thirteenth century, when the new minster was commenced by Henry III in honour of the Confessor himself ; but for the first plan of the great English ecclesiastical monument we are indebted to the intended pilgrimage of King Edward.

From about the end of the twelfth century we already find that on the site of the old Anglo-Saxon School, either by the Vatican Basilica, or by some one of the Popes, a hospital had been erected, of which the care had been entrusted to some friars of the order of the Holy Ghost, instituted a few years before by a noble and beneficent gentleman, Guide of Montpellier. The hospital was afterwards restored and enlarged by Pope Innocent III, and, from the name of the contiguous St. Mary's Church, which alone had survived of the Saxon School, was called the Hospital of *Santa Maria in Saxia* : a name changed later on to the modern one of *Santo Spirito in Saxia*. Although thus, for these many centuries, the old and glorious Saxon School has disappeared, its memory has been localised and perpetuated until our days in one of the oldest and grandest charitable institutions in Europe. The name of Borough, also, with which the Anglo-Saxons were wont to indi-

cate their own quarter in the Vatican territory, gradually extended to the whole district of the Leonine city, and now serves to designate the fourteenth region of Rome (*Rione di Borgo*).

Every right that England might still have had upon the school and the church was practically renounced in favour of the Pontifical See by King John, in the year 1204, when by a solemn charter he granted to the new hospital of Santo Spirito a perpetual annuity of one hundred silver marks out of the revenues at the English Treasury, as well as the incomes of St. Nicholas Church at Wirtel.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries some beneficent English residents in Rome founded, as a substitute for the school, two hospitals, one in the *Rione Regola*, and the other in the Trastevere, by Ripa Grande. This second one stood by a small church dedicated to Edward the Confessor, and was especially meant for English sailors. But during the sixteenth century these institutions were suppressed, and their incomes, or at least part of them, were assigned as an endowment to the English Ecclesiastical College, which had just been established by Gregory XIII, near Piazza Farnese, in the house where it was believed that Thomas à Becket had resided, when he came to Rome to escape the persecutions of his enemies in England.

Having thus far dealt with the Anglo-Saxon School at Rome, it is now necessary to say something about the origin and history of Peter's pence, which, as Archbishop Trench says, if afterwards adopted by others, was an English invention at first. The two subjects are intimately connected, because Peter's pence was started to support the school. It was called Rome-scot, Rome-penny, Hearth-penny, or, in Latin, *Denarius Sancti Petri*, equivalent to the modern name of Peter's pence. The last name must have been derived also from the circumstance that the money was exacted, as a rule, on the festival of St. Peter's Chains.

We have already stated that the origin of this contribution must be assigned, not to King Ina (as it is commonly believed), but to Offa II, when he came to Rome, and, having entered the Anglo-Saxon School, at that time still flourishing, engaged all the families in his kingdom of Mercia to pay annually a silver penny each for the support of the English pilgrims living in the Saxia. Æthelwulf, King of Wessex, the father of Alfred the Great, when he visited Rome in the year 855, seems to have carried and presented personally to Pope Leo IV the Rome-scot that he had gathered from the provinces of his kingdom; and it also appears that he increased the amount of that contribution by adding to it a per-

petual grant of 300 *mancuses*, or silver marks, which were to serve a hundred for the support of the lamps of St. Peter's, a hundred for that of St. Paul's, and a hundred for the personal advantage of the Pope. In process of time, when all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were united in a single monarchy, the different contributions also became one tribute in favour of the Holy See; but a part of it, until the end of the twelfth century, was always employed by the Popes to support the Anglo-Saxon School.

From the laws of Edward I and Canute we learn that during the tenth and eleventh centuries the Rome-scot was not paid by English subjects with sufficient punctuality, so that it became necessary that those sovereigns should enforce, with definite penalties, the regular payment of what they style "the money due to Rome (*nummum Romae debitum*).” Also, when Canute of Denmark came to Rome, Pope John XIX harshly complained of the persistent negligence of English subjects in this respect, and then the king wrote to the people of England, ordering that they should pay with regularity "the pence", he said, "that you owe to St. Peter, from the towns as well as from the villages." And the abuse at that time was so great that the bishops retained, for their own advantage, the money exacted, or debtors limited themselves to make a symbolical offering of it to St. Peter on the altar of a church. To put an end to such an abuse, Pope Alexander II addressed to King Sweyn a letter, that has been preserved to us, ordering that the tribute should be sent directly to Rome. A similar complaint was made by Gregory VII to William the Conqueror, who then caused the money to be carefully gathered, and sent it to the Pope through Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury. The same king threatened in his laws heavy fines to negligent debtors.

In the earlier times the Rome-scot was exacted by the king's officials, and sent then to the Pope through some English dignitary or prelate: thus, for instance, we learn from the chroniclers that, in the year 888, King Alfred sent to Rome just for that purpose the thane Beocca and, two years later, Abbot Bacornhelm. Sometimes the offer was made personally by the king himself, on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the tomb of the Apostles. But, in order to arrange the matter better, Alexander III appointed special officials, under the name of Collectors or Sub-collectors, whose duty it was to gather the contribution from the English families, and to carry the sums to Rome. Then, in the fifteenth century, Julius II, having created the College of the *Scriptores Archivii Romane Curiae*,

granted, amongst other privileges, to the same body the revenues of Peter's pence.

Pietro Grifi, who just at that time was appointed by Pope Julius to act as a collector in the interest of the college already mentioned, has left us a fine parchment manuscript, now in the Vatican Library, where all the notices and documents that he was able to gather are registered, concerning both the history of the Rome-scot and the special functions of the collectors or sub-collectors. In this MS. he has preserved to us the exact text of a Bull by Gregory V, in which the Pope says that he has agreed with the archbishops and bishops in England that they should gather the Rome-scot at their own account and risk, and transmit annually to the Holy See, through the collectors, a definite sum for each diocese. The amount of this sum varied with the different dioceses, as we learn from the aforesaid Bull. The diocese of Lincoln, which was rated highest, was bound to pay forty-two pounds sterling, and the diocese of Ely, being rated lowest, had only to pay five pounds. But this must have changed in course of time, according to the increase or diminution of population in each diocese. Still, the total amount sent to Rome seems never to have exceeded two hundred pounds. Peter's pence was abrogated by Henry VIII in the twenty-fifth year of his reign; it was established again for a short time by Philip and Mary, and then it finally came to be suppressed during the first year of Elizabeth's reign.

The contribution of Peter's pence must not be confused, as some writers do, with the annual rent of a thousand marks, which King John, in the year 1213, obliged himself to pay to the Pope "for the redemption of his own soul and as a feudal vassal of the Roman Church", and, as the charter expressly says, "save in everything the tribute of Peter's pence" (*salvo per omnia denario Sancti Petri*).

Further interest in the Rome-scot was aroused during the year 1883 by a most unexpected discovery made during the course of the excavations, which then revealed to our eyes, after a burial during many centuries, the considerable remains, still extant, of the House of the Vestal Virgins.

In pulling down a wall of mediæval construction, resting upon one of the honorary bases in the Atrium of that distinguished Roman body, close by the Church of Santa Maria Liberatrice, a terra-cotta pot was found, which, besides a *fibula* of Pope Marinus II (died A.D. 946), contained more than 400 silver coins, nearly all

Anglo-Saxon. These coins belonged to kings of the tenth century, and were inscribed with the names of Edward I, Æthelstan, Edmond, etc., with exception of a few amongst them belonging to Archbishops of Canterbury. Commendatore De Rossi, who examined all the coins, wrote in the *Notizie degli Scavi* a very interesting paper to illustrate this fortunate discovery. He showed that the Roman Forum, where in the Middle Ages stood the fortification of the Frangipani family, protectors of the Popes, was not seldom the seat of the Pontifical Court and Curia; whilst it is certain that the Torre Cartularia (by the Arch of Titus, or of the Seven Candlesticks, to use the popular name it had obtained in those times) was the place where the most important books and papers of the pontifical archives were kept in safety from any hostile assault or violence. Then, from the circumstance that the coins were all Anglo-Saxon, not of very different time, and that mixed with them there was found an object very personal to the Pope, like a fibula, De Rossi expressed his opinion that the small treasure had been sent to the Pontiff by the Anglo-Saxons as Peter's pence, and that, in some sudden tumult or danger, it had been concealed for safety by one of the Pope's officials.

During the year 1888, it was announced that another discovery of the same character had been made in the Campagna by Ariccia; but, after close examination of the coins, it was found, to our great disappointment, that only one of them was Anglo-Saxon, and belonged to King Æthelred.

Having spoken of the intimate relations of the Anglo-Saxons with Rome, let us now consider how far this close intercourse may have affected English culture. The frequent visits paid by men of those people to Rome, then the centre of religion and civilisation, can alone explain many important historical facts, all tending to show how ready and spontaneous was the adoption of Roman manners and arts on the part of the new converts.

So great was the prestige very soon exerted by the name of Rome upon the minds of the Teutonic invaders of Britain, that their kings endeavoured to increase their own dignity by officially assuming some of the ceremonies of the old Western Empire. Besides adopting the Byzantine titles of *Basileus* and *Primicerius*, those semi-barbarous sovereigns called themselves pompously by the name of *Imperator*, *Flavius*, *Augustus*, *Rex*, or *Rector*. Very curious is a silver penny of Æthelbert, King of Kent, the first of the Anglo-Saxon princes to accept the Christian faith. The obverse bears the name and bust of the king, whilst the reverse,

together with the Latin title *Rex*, bears a representation of the she-wolf and twins. Thus, this coin, if genuine, is an evident imitation of those of Rome.

Edwin, who became sovereign of the whole region of Northumbria, and was converted to Christianity by Paulinus, assumed something of the state of the Roman Cæsars. A royal standard of purple and gold floated before him as he rode through the villages; a feather-tuft attached to a spear, the Roman *tufo*—a kind of military ensign—preceded him as he walked through the streets.

The effect of the civilising influence exerted by Rome is seen especially in the written laws. The dooms of Æthelbert of Kent are the earliest English documents which we possess, and they were reduced to writing shortly after his conversion; while Bede expressly mentions that they were compiled after Roman models (*juxta exempla Romanorum*). Very soon the Roman alphabet was introduced in the island, and the use of the Runic characters gradually receded before the superior instrument. Latin became the official as well as the literary language. In fact, the adoption of the Latin tongue by the Anglo-Saxons was so ready and general, that, during the ninth century, Pope John X praised it, and proposed it as an example to the Slavs, who showed a great repugnance to abandon their national language for the foreign one.

With the Latin tongue came also Roman literature, pagan and Christian. The two chief schools, those established in the monasteries of Jarrow and of York, rendered illustrious, the one by Bede and the other by Alcuin, were direct emanations from Rome. Bede himself was never at Rome. A letter from Pope Sergius to Abbot Coelfrith has been preserved, in which he invites Bede to Rome; but the acceptance of such an invitation was probably prevented by the death of that Pontiff. Still, the frequent visits paid to the Eternal City by his learned friend and teacher, Benedict Biscop, had made up for any personal loss he might sustain; for Benedict brought from Rome, together with many different objects of art, manuscripts and pictures, which were copied and imitated in his monasteries at Wearmouth and Jarrow. Besides, it is ascertained that whilst Bede was compiling his chief and most precious work, the *Ecclesiastical History* of his own country, Pope Gregory II gave orders that the records of the Roman See should be examined for the monk of distant Jarrow.

On the other hand, Alcuin had several times visited Rome in company with many of his English scholars, who found here a more congenial sphere for their labours than in England, which

was at that time in a most troubled condition. In those days, the accuracy of the various manuscripts was a matter of supreme importance, and Alcuin specially laboured to make up for the errors of others, too often ignorant and ill-educated, who had been employed in transcription.

Ceolfrith, abbot, and teacher of Bede, having carried from the Pontifical Library at Rome into England some manuscripts, amongst which was an ancient Bible, had a magnificent copy of it made in his own monastery, where a skilful palæographic school was flourishing, and destined it as a gift to the Holy See. For this purpose he repeated the journey towards Rome, to offer the book personally to the Apostle Peter; but, when arrived at Langres, he died. Still, the offering was made, in Ceolfrith's name, by his companions in the pilgrimage, as Bede relates.

Commendatore De Rossi, with his extensive knowledge, and helped by the researches made by Professor Wordsworth of Oxford University, has been able to identify Ceolfrith's book with the so-called Amiata Manuscript (*Codex Amiatinus*) in the *Biblioteca Laurenziana* at Florence; and he has come to the conclusion that this beautiful parchment-book, written in the monastery of Ceolfrith and Bede, is the sole manuscript that we know with certainty to have belonged to the old Pontifical Library at the Lateran, the precious treasures of which were, at different times and for various causes, unfortunately dispersed. England is, perhaps, still in possession of some manuscript of the old Apostolical Library. The most famous book of the great Parker Collection at Benet, or Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is an illuminated manuscript of the Gospels in Latin, which some learned men think to be probably one of the very books that were sent to Augustine by Gregory the Great. Professor Westwood says that the drawings in this manuscript are the most ancient monuments of Roman pictorial art existing in England; and he further proceeds to say that, excepting a fourth century manuscript at Vienna, these are the oldest instances of Roman Christian iconography of which he can find any notice.

Another ancient volume of Latin Gospels, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, written probably in the sixth century, shares with the Benet Gospels the traditional repute of being one of the books that were sent by Gregory to Augustine. It has no miniatures, but it has rubrication, and it is in a similar style of writing to that of the Cambridge one just mentioned.

The monasteries were most intimately connected with Rome :

monks were always on the way to visit the centre of Latin and Christian knowledge. Wilfrith, Benedict Biscop, and other celebrated abbots used to journey to and from Rome, enlarging their own minds by intercourse with Roman society, and returning laden with works of art or manuscripts of value. The monks copied these manuscripts for their libraries and availed themselves of the illuminations as models, according to which they painted, in their churches, pictures, not without rude merit of their own. Roman architecture, too, came with Roman culture; wood building was supplemented by stone building, according to Roman rules or even Roman models.

The old cathedral church at Canterbury, which had been built by Christians during the Roman occupation, and which Augustine recovered and dedicated to St. Saviour, was finally pulled down by Lanfranc, in the year 1070. But there exists a written description of this old church by a man who had seen it, namely, Eadmer the Precentor, who was a diligent collector of traditions concerning his cathedral. "What makes his description especially valuable", Prof. Earle says, "is the fact that he compares it to St. Peter's at Rome, and he had been to Rome in company with Anselm." "Now, although the old Basilica at Rome was destroyed in the sixteenth century, yet plans and drawings, which were made before its demolition, are preserved in the Vatican," and also painted on the walls of the crypt of the modern Basilica; "and with all these data before him, Professor Willis reconstructed the plan of the metropolitan church of the Saxon period."

Roman music, of course, accompanied the Roman liturgy. One of the first missionaries sent to England with Paulinus was James, a Roman deacon, who on account of his skill in Roman church music was called the *Cantor* (Chanter). In later times, Abbot Biscop, wishing to promote in his own monastery at Wearmouth and Jarrow the same art, applied to Pope Agatho, who sent to England for that purpose John, the very *Archicantor ecclesie Sti. Petri*, that is, the chief chorist of St. Peter's Basilica. John was the Abbot of St. Martin's Monastery, and also the chief teacher, as it is believed, in the *Schola Cantorum* (singing school), instituted by Gregory and settled in a building by the high flight of steps leading to the Atrium of the Vatican Basilica. From that teacher Beda himself got his remarkable skill in church music. When afterwards the Anglo-Saxon School at Rome was founded, we are, as I think, justified in supposing that English ecclesiastics living there with the scope of instructing themselves in the genuine

Roman doctrine and liturgy, did not omit to attend the musical teaching, which was imparted in the neighbouring *Schola Cantorum*.

Finally, I would mention the many presents, consisting of skilled handicraft, passing from Rome to England; for they must be accounted as important factors in advancing, especially amongst the Anglo-Saxon court and nobility, the taste for Roman ornamental art and Roman fashion.

We constantly hear of Popes, to begin with Gregory the Great, sending to English kings, queens, and churches or monasteries, besides relics, sacred vessels in gold or silver, rich vestments, silks, precious crosses, rings and jewels. To give one or two instances, we learn that in the year 626 Boniface V sent to Edwin, King of Northumbria, some Roman dresses richly embroidered with gold, and to Edwin's queen, Æthelberga, a silver mirror and an ivory comb ornamented with gold or gilt (*speculum argenteum et pectinem eboreum inauratum*). During the year 884, Pope Marinus I, announcing to King Alfred that for the love of him and yielding to his request, he had exempted the Anglo-Saxon School at Rome from every kind of taxation or tribute, sent also to Alfred many valuable presents. Now the famous Alfred Jewel of the Ashmolean Museum, which, according to the general opinion, was a personal ornament of the great Anglo-Saxon king, is supposed by some to have been one of the very presents he received from Pope Marinus. Anglo-Saxon kings, on their side, also used to send or to offer personally to the Popes, besides large sums of money, valuable gifts, consisting very often of works in gold, silver, or precious stones, for, as it is well known, the Anglo-Saxons were very skilful in jewellery, and, generally speaking, in ornamental art: they developed a gorgeous form of decoration, which was recognised as a distinct style, and was known on the continent as English work (*opus anglicum* or *anglicanum*). Now, as in some old inventories of the *Vestiarium* or Pontifical wardrobe, we find many precious objects, described as being *de opere anglicano*, it is quite natural to think that they, or at least some of them, came into the Pope's possession from the liberality of Anglo-Saxon kings. At last, when that old and glorious dynasty came to a sad end at Hastings, the very standard taken on the battle-field by the Conqueror from unfortunate King Harold found also its way to Rome, where this notable trophy, presented by the Norman to Pope Alexander II, may have served to adorn one of the Lateran Halls, or even St. Peter's Confession in the Vatican Basilica.

DOMENICO TESORONI.

A GOTHIC INSCRIPTION FROM THE LAND OF ULFILAS.

IT was about the year 1838 when the rumour spread in Roumania that a treasury of gold and jewellery had been found in Petroasa, a small village in Wallachia. The Government then in power took immediate steps to ascertain the truth of this rumour, and eventually to get possession of the discovered treasure. The rumour proved true, but the Government had been forestalled by a clever Greek, Verusi, who had bought the whole treasure for a mere trifle from the unhappy discoverer, an ignorant peasant, who, like most discoverers, had indeed only to suffer through that fatal gift of the underworld gods, whilst the other reaped the full benefit of the *trouvaille*. In order to get at the truth, the poor peasant was subjected to various tortures, not always of a moral character.

The new owner knew the value of the treasure, and a good, perhaps even the best, part of it was cut to pieces and melted down before the officials could lay hand on him. All that was recovered is now preserved in the National Museum in Bucharest. Among those objects there are two or three bowls or ewers of gold, with handles of a peculiar shape, which give them the appearance of a hen, the neck turned upwards and the legs crossed. Popular fancy saw the figure of a hen in these ewers or bowls of gold; hence the name they bear in the mouth of the people, "the golden hen with her chickens." Popular belief also knows of such "a golden hen with her golden chickens" amongst the stars, as this is the Roumanian name for the Pleiades.

Numerous publications have appeared, in almost every European language, dealing with the treasure of Petroasa. The most complete and the most elaborate work, however, will be one from the masterly pen of Professor Odobescu, of the Bucharest University. He has devoted more than twenty years to the study of this national treasure, and his *magnum opus* will be published at the expense of the Roumanian Government.

Bad luck seemed to pursue this find, as if the gods of the nether world disliked parting with their treasures. Exhibited at the Paris

Exhibition of 1867, it came to London at the South Kensington Museum (where a cast of it is now to be seen) under very peculiar circumstances. After some delay, it was taken back to Bucharest, there again to be exposed to new dangers and to new losses. In 1875 a student of the University, named Pantazescu, entered the museum about midnight, and breaking the precious objects to pieces, contrived to escape with his booty, in spite of the soldiers on guard. He was, however, caught the next day, and all the stolen objects recovered—some, however, in a much injured condition.

It is with one of these objects that I wish now to deal. Among the jewellery found in Petroasa is a golden *bracteata* with a Runic inscription. According to the statements made by the discoverer, there must have been a pair of such *bracteate*; but one is irretrievably lost and the other badly injured by Pantazescu. Being one of the very few specimens of bracteates with a Runic inscription, this one attracted at the time the attention of various scholars, who have attempted to read the inscription. Hitherto, it must be confessed, the attempt has not been crowned with success.

The importance of the inscription is obvious, for, if read, it would solve the problem of the treasure. To whom did these gold vases, ewers, bracelets, and this dish belong before they were entrusted to the earth? The wildest conjectures have been hazarded. Some saw in them remnants of the old mythical Agathyrse, famous workers in gold; others recognised the treasure as having belonged to Decebalus, the last king of the Dacians, and been hidden by him before Sarmizegethuza fell into the hands of the Romans under Trajan; others, again, ascribed them to Mongolian and Tartar hordes, who swept the country for centuries.¹ The objects undoubtedly bear the mark of Oriental workmanship, of quite an original pattern, although Byzantine influence has been traced in various details. At any rate, the inscription supplies the only terminal *ad quem* for determining the date. The Runes point to a Gothic nationality. We know full well that such a nation inhabited the country where the treasure was found. It was the kingdom of the Goths in the fourth century. There Ulfilas flourished, and it was there that he translated the Bible into Gothic, which translation is the oldest monument of the Gothic language. It was from Dacia that the Goths made their predatory incursions into the defenceless Byzantine empire, whence they re-

¹ Vide Odobescu, *In. Columna lui Trajan*, viii, Bucuresci, 1878, p. 104, 199 *et seq.*

turned laden with rich booty. This may well account for the origin of these golden objects. Either they were brought home from such an expedition, or, what is less likely, they were made by native workmen, who imitated, in a rude and barbarous fashion, artistic and more elaborate models.

To judge, therefore, from the workmanship, it would seem that the treasure belonged to a Gothic tribe. This is fully corroborated by the inscription in Runic characters ; but what does the inscription denote? In solving this problem the learning of many a scholar has been severely tasked. The first who recognised the Runic character of the inscription was Professor J. Zacher. The researches made by W. Grimm, Massmann, Lauth, Dietrich, and others, have been ably summarised by Stephens,¹ who published a lithographic reproduction of the bracelet. He reads the inscription as follows : "Gutaenio Hwi haeilaeg", *i.e.*, "Dedicated to the temple of the Goths."

One mistake runs, however, through all the readings and decipherings of the inscription. The characters are just scratched on the surface. They are, besides, rude and primitive, no space being left between the words, only the letters being separated from each other. This last-named fact has the result that the letters have been combined in the most extraordinary ways. The thinness of the lines has prevented even galvanoplastic copies from being correct. Such very minute characters could not be well reproduced, and thus it happened that only *fifteen* letters were counted, whereas there are, in fact, or rather there were originally, *sixteen*, for the inscription was very much damaged by the thief in 1875. Professor Odobescu has been the first to discover² that there was a small Runic character, representing the sound *c* (*cên*), between the *seventh* and what is now the *ninth* letter. The reading, therefore, according to Professor Odobescu, is : *Gutani ðevi hailag*.

The various Gothic objects with inscriptions hitherto known have either the name of the maker engraved upon them or a kind of invocation of luck and happiness for the bearer of the bracelet or the user of the vase. The interpretation proposed by almost all the scholars, gives quite a new form of solemn invocation to this particular inscription. The last word, read by all *hailag* (sacred, or dedicated), denotes a more solemn formula. The real difficulty lies in the previous two words. Although from a grammatical point of view

¹ G. Stephens, *The Old Northern Runic Inscriptions*, London, 1867-68, pp. 567-573.

² *L. c.*, p. 119.

gutani is not a very correct form, we could still see, in allowing some liberty to the inexperienced engraver, an archaic form of the dative of *gutan*, Wodan, meaning "To Wodan, . . . is dedicated". The four middle letters are read by Professor Odobescu as *Ocvi*, and he finds in them the old name for *Scythia*, given to that country by the Goths, as recorded by Jornandes. The whole inscription would thus be: "*To Wodan Scythia is dedicated.*"

Besides the very problematical identity of *Ocvi* with *Ovim*, the form the name has in Jornandes, this dedication of a whole country to Wodan, or to any other deity, is, as far as I know, quite unique. If one thing is of more importance than another in archæological and antiquarian, as well as in other kinds of scientific research, it is to reduce the number of unique phenomena, and to unite them to a definitely classed or at all events better-known type. There must be a certain similarity in the inscriptions of similar bracelets, and this makes us diffident in accepting the accuracy of the new solution.

Leaving, however, the readings of the inscription as very doubtful, another difficulty presents itself: For what was the bracelet intended? It is too large for the arms or *ankles*, too small for a *collar*, round the neck of powerfully-built Goths. Together with this bracelet, three similar ones, without inscriptions, have been found in Petroasa, and the number of analogous rings or bracelets of Gothic and ancient origin in various museums is very great. An ingenious hypothesis has been put forward by Busching in order to explain the origin and use of these bracelets. The prevalent idea is that they were a kind of sacred rings, belonging to the temples. Upon them, dipped in the blood of the sacrifice, solemn oaths were taken in the name and in the presence of Wodan. Grimm, in his *Rechtsalterthümer*,¹ speaks more amply about it, and many writers on Northern antiquities mention these *oath rings* (*Schwur-ring*).

This institution is itself obscure in its origin; equally so the primitive meaning of the ring. I will venture an explanation, starting from an altogether different point of view.

In various countries, more especially in Panonia and Dacia, a great number of smaller and larger rings have been disinterred from time to time. The most recent of these discoveries, which I believe has remained entirely unknown in the west of Europe, is one made in 1880, in Turnu-Magurele, a small Roumanian town, situated not far from Bucharest. The objects found there by chance are five

¹ Second ed., Göttingen, 1854, p. 895.

cylindrical tubes of gold, two of silver, and one of electrum (gold mixed with silver), a small gold tube with ornamentation and 433 small pieces of gold in the form of rings. Mr. Sutz has devoted an admirable study to this treasure in the Roumanian *Revista pentru Istorie Archeologie și Filologie*, i, p. 1-16, 1882. The result of this research has been the proof that this treasure consisted of the coinage of the land which existed long before the Roman conquest: for stamped coins came into the country with the Romans, and even shortly before that event coins were already fabricated in Dacia.

The history of coinage reveals everywhere the same beginning: *i.e.*, the currency of precious metal by weight. The monetary system of the four or five centuries B.C. in Asia Minor, Greece, and the countries round the Pontus was mostly the duodecimal, and the current coins were the Persian Dareikos, the Macedonian Stater, and above all, the Stater of Kyzikos. Placed at the entrance of the Black Sea, Kyzikos absorbed all the gold coming from Scythia and Dacia, and circulated it under the form of coins in all the principal places of Europe. Demosthenes speaks of them, and in the inventory of the Parthenon they are also mentioned. This Stater of Kyzikos served as monetary unity for all those countries. As has been proved by Kiss¹ and others, rings and bracelets which are scattered throughout Europe stand, when weighed, in a certain proportion to one another, proving thus that they are based upon an ancient monetary unity, and very likely served also as current money.

The objects found in Turnu-Magurele do not leave any doubt about their monetary character and value, and that their monetary unity is that very same Stater of Kyzikos. Three of the large tubes (or bracelets) weigh respectively 127 grains 84, *i.e.*, almost exactly 8 Kyzic staters of 16 grains; the second, 95 grains 7 = nearly 6 Kyzic staters; and the third, 96 grains = exactly 6 Kyzic staters.

Still more conclusive is the result obtained from the comparison of the weight and mutual relation between the 433 small ringlets. The stater of Kyzikos, given at 16 grains 20 maximum and 15 grains minimum, $\frac{1}{4}$ would be 4.0-5-3.80, or on an average 3.89; $\frac{1}{8}$ or hectea, 2.69-2.50; and so in the same proportion all the subdivisions of the Kyzikos, which are all following the duodecimal system. The same proportion prevails now throughout those

¹ *Die Zahl u. Schmuckringe*, Budapest, 1859. Cf. Gr. G. Tocilescu, *Dacia inamite de Romani*, Bucuresci, 1881, p. 152 *et seq.*

small ringlets of gold, representing the exact duodecimal subdivisions of the Kyzicos, establishing thus the monetary character, and to a certain extent the date of these fabrications—that being not later than the 4th century B.C.

Applying the result we have obtained, and bearing in mind the similar monetary character of rings, collars, and bracelets found elsewhere, it is certainly not too bold a surmise to recognise in the gold rings of the sacred rites nothing else than monetary unities, the legal standard, deposited in the sanctuary, under the guardianship of the gods. Phoenicia, Babylonia, and other ancient civilisations had similar legal standards of weight, and thus of their monetary system, in the shape of lions and other animals, bearing inscriptions—sometimes of a secular character, simply the name of the engraver, like so many Runic inscriptions; others, on the contrary, of a solemn, sacred character, like that on the golden bracelet dedicated to Wodan.

This would easily explain how it happened that the ring, the representation of the correct legal standard, through which false weight and false measure were made impossible, how that ring, when its pristine use was forgotten through the introduction of real coins became spiritualised, the emblem of moral equity and truthfulness, and served as a sacred ring at solemn oaths.

M. GASTER.

THE ABBEY CHURCH OF BERNAY.

THE small town of Bernay, in Normandy, lies on the line to Paris, between Lisieux and Evreux, in the department of Eure. Though its situation in a valley surrounded by well-wooded hills is picturesque, it has nothing particular to commend it to the ordinary tourist; but to the archæologist and architectural historian it has a single object of especial interest in the now desecrated church of its ancient abbey. This especial interest lies in the facts that it is to all appearance the earliest building with a recorded date which can be called distinctively "Norman" in style, and that it has at the same time one feature—the domical vaulting of the aisle—which in Norman building may be regarded as unique.

The abbey of Bernay was founded in 1013 by Judith of Brittany, wife of Duke Richard II and grandmother of William the Conqueror, and completed some time after her death, in 1024. The monastic buildings, no doubt, underwent several subsequent transformations, and, like many others in France, were finally rebuilt as they now appear in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Since the Revolution they have been appropriated by the Government, as is also usual, for various public offices, such as the sub-prefecture, library, museum, etc. The west front of the church was rebuilt at the same time, but the greater part of the original structure remains. This also has been turned to secular uses, and few would suspect that behind the dilapidated Renaissance façade of the Corn Hall, though it retains the outlines of a church of noble proportions, there lay one of the most interesting architectural relics of the eleventh century. Yet on entering, no one with an eye for architecture can fail to be impressed with its basilican aspect, and a certain grandeur in its lofty walls, with massive oblong piers and simply decorated arcade, disfigured though it be with some tasteless seventeenth century additions in plaster. To an eye acquainted only with English architecture it might have an air of novelty, because we are unaccustomed to such a combination of great size and extreme simplicity. But those who have previously seen Cérisy-la-forêt, Jumièges, or St. Stephen's at Caen, will at once perceive that this church is one of the same class, and

recognize a type of early Norman work which depends for its effect on size rather than on the minor decorative details which we are apt to associate with it. Not that this type was unknown in England: the transepts of Winchester, both in plainness and size, vie with any of these four Norman churches; but in England we have not the means of appreciating the effect of a whole building like this, because in some cases, as at St. Alban's and Chichester they have been altered or in great part rebuilt; and other Norman churches, such as Gloucester and Tewkesbury, or Durham, have special peculiarities which remove them from this category.

Of the three churches with which I class Bernay, Cérisy was re-founded by Judith's son, Robert the (so-called) Devil, and finished by his son, William the Conqueror, who also appears to have taken a special interest in the rebuilding of Jumièges,¹ and about the same time founded the abbey and church of St. Stephen. The four, therefore, form a group closely allied in the circumstances of their origin as in their structural features, and were all founded, if not actually built, before the Norman conquest. It is true that the two later differ from the earliest in having the triforium vaulted, and that Cérisy and Caen have a gallery at the end of each transept, a peculiarity which seems to have no significance as to date; but Bernay differs from all the others in a point of some importance, viz., in that all the arches in the main arcade and crossing have on the soffit the large roll-moulding—the repetition of the semicircular pilaster on the piers—which is almost peculiar to Norman work. I will refer again to this feature after a more general description of the church. It was visited in 1831 by Gally Knight, and about twenty years later by Inkersley, since which time some portions have been demolished. Their notes are therefore useful, but they are too brief and not quite accurate; and I hope the building may be thought of sufficient importance to justify a more detailed record of its present condition.

The Norman work that is now left comprises the five bays of the nave and its south aisle; all the south transept except its apsidal chapel; the crossing, and two bays of the choir with its aisles.

The north aisle of the nave appears to have been rebuilt in the 14th or 15th century. It has pointed, ribbed vaulting, and is the only part of the church which has buttresses. We have still,

¹ Dehinc vero paulo post in Normanniam regressus [Gulielmus] ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ in Gemmetico cum honore magno dedicari jussit (1067).—*Will. Gemmet.*, vii; *Ap.*, Inkersley (*Architecture in France*).

therefore, the whole church as it existed in the last century, except the north transept and the three apses of the choir and transepts—unless, indeed, the choir extended more than two bays to the east of the crossing, which does not seem probable.

Knight's statement that there were originally two aisles on each side of the nave is a mistake, as the original windows exist in the south aisle. He seems to have been misled by the arches on the west wall of the south transept; these, however, exist solely to support an inner gallery at the triforium level, the front of which extends upwards to the top of the transept, though it has large apertures in front of the clerestory windows. Knight also omits to notice that there was a triforium in the nave as well as in the transept. It is closed and plastered over, and the faint indications which can be seen were possibly absent in his time. But from inside the space over the aisle-vault it is evident that there were openings similar to those at Cérisy, consisting of two small arches beneath a larger one. These, as at Cérisy, have been carefully blocked up, and the dividing shaft has disappeared; but the original arrangement is shown in a sketch given by de Caumont,¹ which also shows the shallow, round-headed panels which in some Romanesque churches take the place of the triforium, but here were interspaced with it. Both nave and transept have single round-headed clerestory lights.

In the east wall of the transept below the clerestory are three double round-headed openings (now filled up), which are probably those described by Knight as a triforium. They certainly have that appearance; but as there is no aisle in the ordinary sense, it is not clear into what space, if any, they opened. There was an apsidal chapel projecting from this wall, and its arched entrance, filled up, is still visible below this quasi-triforium; but as the outside could not be examined, I cannot say how it was roofed. The eastern termination of the church is gone; the original apse is said to have been replaced by a later Gothic one, which has also disappeared; the two bays of the choir and aisles are closed in by a recently built wall with doors in it.

The alterations at the west end are not altogether obvious. It is possible that the church originally extended two or three bays further in that direction, as the abbey buildings project beyond it, and Norman churches on this scale generally have more than five bays. There is a rough edge of masonry at the south-west quoin, which may indicate some shortening, but the facts that the west

¹ *Abécédaire*, p. 192.

front has two flamboyant windows, and was apparently refaced in the seventeenth or early part of the eighteenth century, show that it has undergone more than one renovation, and make the original arrangement altogether doubtful.

The most remarkable feature, and the one for which the church is most noted is, of course, the vaulting of the south aisle. It is described and illustrated in *Petits' Architectural Studies in France* (p 40). It is strictly domical vaulting with horizontal courses of small brick-like stones. It is somewhat flattened at the top, being rather spheroidal than spherical; but it is to be noted that the whole vault forms one curved surface, and has no separate pendentives, the dome being carried down uninterruptedly into the angles of each square compartment without edge or break. I am not aware that this sort of vault occurs anywhere else in France, unless it be over the nave at Fontevault; the domes of Aquitaine generally having the ordinary Byzantine pendentives, *i.e.*, triangular or other portions of a larger sphere. The choir-aisles are not vaulted in the same way; they have the plain groined and ribless vault usually found in early Norman and Romanesque.

Mr. J. H. Parker, whilst admitting the presumed age of the main parts of the structure, says that the greater part of the ornamentation has been entirely changed in the twelfth century.¹ He neither explains what he regards as ornamentation, nor on what grounds he assumes that it has been altered. There is comparatively little decoration in the building, but I presume that he refers to the carved capitals of the semicircular pilasters, and to the two inferior orders of both piers and arches, which, from the mode of their construction, necessarily go with the capitals. For nearly all the piers and arches are composed of three orders, *viz.*, a principal order of rectangular section, a similar one recessed, and an innermost order of semicircular section. Now Mr. Parker's assumption is supported by the fact that, though the two inner orders are worked together in single blocks, they are not bonded into the outermost order, but appear to make a straight joint with it throughout the work. Nevertheless, the masonry in both inner and outer portions shows no difference in the thickness of the joints. It is all wide-jointed, instead of the inner orders being more finely jointed than the other, as would be the case in twelfth century additions; and the horizontal courses correspond so closely in level as to give the impression that they must have been laid at the same time.

Moreover, the direct evidence of the capitals themselves seems

¹ See Rickman's *Gothic Arch.*, 6th ed., p. 102, and Parker's *Introduction*.

to me to be opposed to the theory of a later alteration. They are of the same class of art as those of C  risy, *i.e.*, they are decidedly more ornate than many that were used at a much later date, and show a greater affinity with old Romanesque or Byzantine art than any which are commonly seen in England. The rude Corinthian type, with one or two coroll   of curling leaves, is frequent. There are some which have only the corner volutes, with the plain facet of uncarved stone between them—a well-known sign of early Norman work. A few are wholly covered with surface-carving of arabesque foliage, which might, from its workmanship, be thought later than the rest, were it not that in surface-work Romanesque art is always at a far higher level than in sculpture; and that capitals of this sort are really more unlike the type which ultimately prevailed than the ruder ones. There are capitals of this Byzantine kind at C  risy also, but in neither church is there any form of the plain cushion, which appears to be commoner in England.

The occurrence of the roll-moulding on the under surface of the arches is really the most difficult fact to account for, because it does not occur in the other churches I have mentioned. But, on the other hand, it does occur in the earliest work at Evreux, which cathedral was dedicated in 1077, and must have been constructed contemporaneously with St. Stephen's, Caen. Besides, at Bernay, as elsewhere, the roll-moulding goes with the semicircular pilaster of the piers, and similar pilasters are found in all these early churches. To take away the two inner orders from the arches would involve a corresponding alteration of the piers, and would reduce the original building to a bareness far exceeding that of the others, and utterly discordant with buildings which, in size, in plan, and in date are closely in accord with it. It is to be remembered that this mode of decorating an arch was not absolutely unknown to earlier buildings. Though it is so characteristic of Norman buildings, it was not invented by Normans. In its earliest form, in which the whole archivolt has a simple curved section, it may be seen at Deerhurst Church; a more developed Anglo-Saxon specimen, more like the Norman form, is found in the tower-arch at Sompting, and probably others might be indicated. Its occurrence in Normandy in the early part of the eleventh century is therefore not an impossibility.

Were there no other objections to Mr. Parker's theory, it would seem to me untenable on two grounds—(1) the unlikelihood that such additions would be made to nearly every arch in the church, including the large arches of the crossing, when in other cases, as in the

early work at Fécamp or at Winchester, we find later improvers perfectly content to leave flat-soffited arches in their original condition; and (2) the mechanical difficulties of thus altering the work without entirely rebuilding the upper portions of the church. It seems necessary therefore to accept the recorded date, or to adopt, as an alternative, the theory that the church was practically rebuilt sixty or eighty years after its foundation, which, however, is contradicted by the manifestly early character of the masonry and the absence of important features, such as the flat external buttresses, the internal roofing shafts or pilasters, as well as of smaller ornamental details which are found at Cérisy, Jumièges and other churches of the eleventh century. The only external decoration which is original consists of a billet-moulding round and between the window-heads, a common early Romanesque ornament.

I have dwelt on this point of date because it seems to me of great importance in its bearing on the origin of Norman architecture. On the whole, it seems less difficult to give Judith of Brittany, or her husband, Richard II, credit for all the Norman features of the church, than to adopt either of the alternative theories; and I hope we may believe that, early as is the assigned date, we have here the first typical Norman as distinguished from other forms of round arched building, and recognize in the massive pier of the northern Romanesque, and the domical vaulting of the southern or eastern, a new mingling of wandering elements which was destined to be fruitful in great results; and see in this first methodical treatment of the rounded archivolt the germ that was ultimately developed into the complexity of purely Gothic arcuation.

I may add that de Caumont mentions this church as one of the eleventh century, without remark as to the ornamentation. His illustration exhibits a feature I have not alluded to, viz., the slightly horse-shoe form which many of the arches, especially those of the lantern, possess.

Amongst the few remaining details that need be mentioned is a curiously joggled arch, now filled in, in the south wall of the aisle, near the transept. It originally led into the cloister, if there was one. Each voussoir has an angular indentation in each side, to admit of the insertion of a diamond-shaped stone—a curious and unnecessary precaution for additional strength.

In the north choir aisle, a tall archway—whether door or window, or both, is doubtful—has been inserted in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The mouldings come down to the ground. Besides this, and the reconstruction of the north aisle, there is little mediæval

alteration. But in the seventeenth century many of the capitals have been disfigured by additions in plaster of cherubs' heads and drapery. It is not difficult to distinguish the original carving from this. The capital upon which Gally Knight noticed the inscription *Me fecit Isembardus*, I could not find. Possibly it was in the north transept, or in one of the apses, which all seem to have been standing when he visited the church in 1831.

The greater part of the internal walls and vaults are covered with plaster; there are traces of pink and yellow paint in parts, and in some places there are remains of the painted lines, imitating joints in the stonework, in the usual red ochre.

There are considerable difficulties in examining this building, owing to its being divided amongst various occupiers. The west compartment of the south aisle is divided from the rest, and used as an entrance to the maison d'arrêt on the south of the building; the corresponding compartment of the north aisle is occupied by the commissaire de police. The east compartment in the south aisle is the fire-engine station. The rest of the ground-floor is open, and used as a store for grain and lumber. But the transept has a floor inserted at about the level of the capitals of the nave arcade, and this is divided between the town band and the Gymnastic Society. The existence of this floor has some advantage in allowing an easy inspection of the triforium.

I believe this building is not yet made a *monument historique*. Perhaps, in the interests of archæology, it is not desirable that it should attain that dignity, with its probable accompanying penalty of a thorough restoration. But it is much to be desired that some measures should be taken to preserve it from further destruction, and to permit those who take an interest in such things to inspect freely what seems to me to be in some sense a unique monument of early French art, and an important landmark in the history of mediæval architecture.

NOTE.—The internal dimensions of the church are approximately as follows :
—*Length*—Nave (5 bays), 90 ft.; crossing, 30 ft.; choir (2 bays), 30 ft.; transept (from crossing), 37 ft. *Width*—Nave, 30 ft.; aisles, 15 ft.; transept (from inner wall), 25 ft. *Height* to top of wooden waggon roof of nave, about 66 ft.

EDWARD BELL.

QUARTERLY SUMMARY

OF

ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERY & WORK IN GT. BRITAIN.

PREHISTORIC REMAINS.

Alton.
Belfast.
Eastbourne.
North Ballachulish.
Drummond Hill, Taymouth.
Dunston (Newcastle).
Wycombe.
Stow, near Duns.

ROMAN REMAINS.

Beddington.
Bristol.
Botley.
Elveden.
Threxton.
Christchurch.
Winchester.

ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS.

Burray Island.
Rochester Cathedral.
Canterbury Cathedral.
Milton-next-Sittingbourne.

MEDIÆVAL CHURCHES, ETC.

Newcastle.
Lambourne.
Wingrave.
Condicote.
York.
Ellesmere.
Rossett.
Canterbury.
Wycombe.
South Petherwyn.

COINS.

Neville's Cross.

PREHISTORIC REMAINS.

THE bones of a large-sized beaver have recently been discovered in a small wood known as Lynch Hill, on the banks of the river Wey, at Alton. Mr. Thomas, of the Osteological Department in the Natural History Section of the British Museum, reports that they are in the sub-fossil state of preservation—half fossilized—and a remarkable feature in remains so ancient is that the orange colouring on the front enamel of the great teeth is brighter than that upon any of the teeth of animals shot in Canada and France recently. The bones will probably be preserved in the local museum.

An interesting find is reported from Belfast. Dr. John Moran, of that town, has found a tooth of *Elephas primigenius* in the drift gravels at Larne Harbour. The following is the succession of beds in ascending order: 1, older boulder clay; 2, coarse gravel with rolled stones (3 to 4 ft. thick); 3, coarse gravel with rolled stones (6 to 10 ft. thick); 4, silt, or rather coarse laminated clay (3 to 5 in. thick); 5, a second layer of coarse gravel with rolled stones (18 in. to 2 ft. thick); 6, dark surface layer (18 in. thick) containing neolithic implements of a rude type. It was in bed No. 4, formed from the denudation of the newer boulder clay, that the tooth was found.

A report of a recent find of an urn near the Belfast waterworks, at

Woodburn, was given to the Belfast Natural History Society on March 5th. It was from a description supplied by Mr. George Reilly. The urn was found in a stone cist, covered by a large flagstone. It was placed mouth upwards, and contained ashes and calcined bones, which were shown.

While excavations were being made at Eastbourne, in the garden of Hon. Charlotte Ellis, a cinerary urn was turned up at a depth of 3 ft. 6 in. It is black in colour, and about 10 in. in height, and contained a quantity of calcined bones. Another urn, some 2½ in. high, and of a greenish colour, was also found. Besides some fragments, forming the handles of a large vase, a bronze pin has been dug up in a good state of preservation.

Some workmen, while digging near North Ballachulish, came upon a prehistoric grave. The urn is made of peat, with powdered granite and mica schist kneaded in to give strength. The specimen is unique, as those which have been hitherto discovered are all of clay.

An interesting "find" was recently made by a young girl whilst gathering a burden of small wood under what is traditionally known as the "Roman Camp", situated on the top of a high cliff on the eastern part of Drummond Hill, behind Taymouth Castle. The relic is a perfect specimen of the ancient celt, and has been purchased by the Marquis of Breadalbane.

The *Newcastle Chronicle* reports that some interesting discoveries have been made during the past few weeks in the course of the excavations for the foundations of the new Co-operative Flour Mill on the fore-shore of the river Tyne at Dunston. A very old canoe was reached, but unfortunately it was so much damaged before its true nature was discovered as to be unfit for preservation; and there were also found portions of the horns of deer.

On a hill on the south side of Wycombe Valley, in the month of December last, as the farmer was guiding his plough, one of the horse's feet slipped into a hole. This hole proved on examination to be the interior of a large cinerary urn. There was no elevation showing a barrow, which must have been levelled many years ago by cultivation, for the field is called "Barrow Croft".

The ruins of a broch have been discovered on the Stow estate of Lady Reay. Some Edinburgh archaeologists visited the ruin, and it was hoped that this might lead to an exploration under the supervision of experts, but nothing of this kind resulted from their visit, and the discoverers of the ancient fortress or dwelling of a race unknown in history were reluctantly forced to get the work done in the best way available to them; and the *Scotsman* reports the following facts. When the broch was discovered it presented to the inexperienced eye only a low flattened mound of loose stones capping the apex of a peaked height 1,020 feet above the sea-level, precipitous on the south-west, and declining on the north-east by a gradient of about 5 degrees from the horizontal towards the hill stream called Halkburn. But the north-east margin of the pile consisted of large stones

plainly disposed in a circular position, suggesting building. A cursory examination showed that the ruin was the base of a wall $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness, of uncemented, undressed stone, enclosing a circular space 32 feet in diameter. This was enough to prove that the ruin belonged to the architectural type well known in the north and north-west of Scotland as brochs. The first step in exploration was to clear out to the floor the interior space enclosed by the wall. It consisted of stones and black earth, and it was meant to pass all the earth through a riddle, so that any needle or pin of bone it might contain would not escape observation. The earth, however, was found to be too humid to pass through the riddle. There is no reason for holding that this made any difference as to the result, for the men were so careful in removing the *débris* that every fragment of bone was easily distinguished and laid aside. When the interior had been cleared out to what was considered the level of the original floor, it was seen that the floor consisted of fine clay that had been hardened by fire after being laid down. Its colour, a bright red, approaching pink; its hard, compact texture, portions of it less decomposed by weathering than the mass being scarcely distinguishable from recent-made brick, were held to prove that the clay had been baked by fire. The undersides of portions of it were plainly marked by longitudinal grooves and variously shaped depressions such as soft clay would take if pressed down on a rough stony bed. No lines could be seen on the upper surface to suggest a paving of previously burned brick. The substance used had been pure and very fine clay, without any admixture of sand. The flooring on the south-west side for a distance of 4 yards in length by 1 in width was pavement of flat, irregularly shaped stones. These were lifted, and found to cover loose stones that had evidently been used to fill a natural hollow in the rocky site on which the broch had been reared. At many places the floor was strewn with black dust and pieces of wood charcoal, the larger fragments about 1 inch cubes. The investing wall, wherever examined, was found to be laid on rock *in situ*. The next step was to dig up and to remove the flooring, and this done, it was found to cover, to an approximate level, the out-cropping margins of the Llandovery grits dipping at a high angle, and striking north-easterly across the site of the broch. So far, no distinctive relic of the broch age was found. Not a fragment of a broken quern, or stone vessel, or bone implement was disinterred. Several teeth of horses, fragments of the skeletons of sheep, rabbits, and of smaller animals, probably mice and birds, were picked up—all of which might have been placed there after the work was a ruin. The teeth of the horses invited some consideration—as modern conditions are against their existence on a lonely hill-top; but it was once part of the forest grazings of the Melrose monks, who kept herds of wild horses, and the wolves of that period may have dragged into the ruin of the broch portions of such game on which they preyed. Only one specimen of bone found was faintly suggestive of the broch-men. It is 3 inches in length by 2 in width, thin, and very much decayed. The cells are so large as to

be suggestive of the osseous structure of the cetacea—and it is known that the builders of the northern brochs made some of their tools out of large bones of the whale; but the fragment under consideration is not in the least tool-like, and it is safest to draw no inference from its cellular character. Fragments of three earthenware vessels were found above the level of the original floor. All have been shaped on the potter's wheel, and hard baked. The diameter of the largest of the three must have been about a couple of feet, and portions are almost 1 inch in thickness. One of the vessels has been so hardly baked that it rings like metal when struck. When the interior of the work had been fully cleared out it was found that the investing wall was $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness, from 12 to 18 inches in height, without any trace of cement, and on the exterior margin having a foundation of large boulders. The inner margin is in places founded with large stones, but in other portions of slabs that a child might handle. Among the ruins the two larger blocks now visible are 7 feet and a few inches in length, by over 2 feet in width, the one being about 12 inches in thickness and the other about 24. From this maximum blocks of all sizes down to mere splinters have been used in the structure. The diameter of the open space within the wall does not vary more than 6 inches—the average of four cross measurements being 31 feet 9 inches. Most of the larger stones are boulders that have been shorn of their angles by travelling, but some of them are so angular as to suggest that they have been torn from the beds on which the broch stands. The entrance to the broch was easily enough determined, and is on the north-east side, which, as already said, is a gentle slope. At one side of the passage half of the original foundation has been preserved; at the other side, only one of the foundation-stones—so far as can be reasonably judged—remains. Measured thus, the width of the passage at the inner end has been 4 feet 8 inches—in harmony with entrances to some of the northern brochs, as described by Mr. Craig. The outer half of the passage is entirely ruinous, and its original character cannot now be determined. Aware of the fact that the best “finds” of broch relics were got in ash deposits, a cursory search for one or more of these was made near the Bow broch, but without success. The surface is natural grass, and on both sides the peak is so freely exposed to blasts from the south-west that no ashes could rest on their surface. But on both sides, and also in front of the broch, traces of ash-heaps were sought for by picking into the grass over low knolls, but no charcoal was seen. It was intended to clear the exterior of the wall all round, but the non-discovery of anything of the slightest value was so disheartening that this was not carried out. The broch has occupied nearly all the apex of the peak, but on the slope on the north-east side, where the entrance is, are what seem to be artificial flats of approximately circular form, defined by the foundations of stone dikes. One such leaves one side of the work, and runs down the slope about 150 yards, to where it has been cut off by cultivation. This wall must have been at least 3 feet in thickness, and is plainly con-

nected with the broch. That the building was a broch, as defined by Scottish archæologists, there is no room to doubt or question, and it is one of the only two at present known south of the Forth. Probably there are between the Forth and the Cheviots many mounds which, if examined, might turn out works of the same type. Had this Bow "Castle" been in a moist valley its gray weather-bleached stones would long ago have been buried under rank grass or waving bracken, and pilgrims in Borderland might examine stony mounds for traces of these old and interesting buildings.

ROMAN REMAINS.

During April some farm labourers while ploughing at Beddington, came upon some solid brickwork, in shape like the usual apparatus for heating a bath. It is in two compartments about six feet in width. Further excavation may lead to the unearthing of a Roman villa, as happened in 1860 about one mile from this spot, and on the same farm, and it is hoped the Croydon authorities will give facility to the Surrey Archæological Society to pursue the exploration.

What appears to be Roman remains have been found in Mina Road, Baptist Mills, Bristol. A leaden coffin containing a skeleton was first unearthed. Not many feet from this were discovered indications of a stone coffin, and upon further excavations on May 1st, some workmen came upon a "stone-cist", measuring inside 7 feet long, by 22 inches wide, by 20 inches deep, composed of slabs 2 to 3 inches thick, the largest being 5 feet by 30 inches. In this grave also, human remains were visible, though in a very decomposed state. They were evidently the bones of a man of great proportions. Two nails, about six inches long, were found at each corner inside the cist, proving that the body was put into a wooden coffin prior to interment, head to the east. On May 14, a second "stone-cist" was dug out very similar to the one described, and containing a skeleton—head to the north-east. These burials were made close together, almost in a direct line, and all found about 5 feet below the surface, Roman coins have been picked up in the neighbourhood.

Some Roman tiles have been found below an ancient canoe, the discovery of which, at Botley, Hants, was reported in our pages, *ante*, vol. ii, p. 254.

Mr. Prigg has made some interesting discoveries at Elveden, near Thetford. Excavations on the site of an ancient burial-place revealed three large urns of brown ware, which had been deposited with their necks downwards, and covered over by a circular *situla*, some of the metal mountings of which remained. The urns have the appearance of having been intended for burial purposes, but although burnt bones were met with outside the circle of the *situla*, none were found with them. Mr. Prigg referred to the local controversy that has arisen relative to the age of the deposit, it being contended that, because some ornamentation of Celtic style occurs on the mountings, the date must be pre-Roman. They are, however, of undoubted Roman date.

A bronze key of Roman date was found during May, near Threxton, Norfolk. It was of more elaborate pattern than usual, and was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries on May 16.

A figure of terra-cotta, apparently Mars, has been found near the Roman camp in the valley of Christchurch.

In the course of some excavations in Hall Court Wood, near Winchester, the property of Admiral Murray Aynsley, the site and remains of a Roman potter's kiln, 7 ft. 9 in. in diameter, have been uncovered, the base being overgrown with underwood. Fragments of pottery of the Roman period were also found in the wood.

ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS.

What is supposed to have been a hidden treasure was found on April 25, in the North Town Moss, Island of Burray, Orkney, by George Petrie in cutting peats for fuel. Sheriff Armour, accompanied by Mr. James Cursiter, secured the treasure, which consists of silver coins, armlets, and necklets. The articles when found were in a wooden vessel or bowl which fell to pieces when taken up. The coins are of the eleventh century, and belong to the following reigns—Eadward, Ethelred the Second, and Eadgar. There are twenty-five armlets or bangles, two neck rings of silver wire, and other articles, all of which are in a beautiful state of preservation, and all of solid silver. The largest armlet or bangle weighs over two ounces, while the smallest is about half an ounce. Sheriff Armour took possession of the treasure on account of the Queen's and the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer. Through the courtesy of Sheriff Armour the articles were exhibited in a shop window in the town, and were inspected by a great concourse of people. A similar treasure was found in Skail, Sandwick, Orkney, in 1858.

The foundations of an old apse have been found at Rochester Cathedral, running under and through the foundations which underlie the Norman west front of the cathedral church. The Rev. Greville M. Levett has written an interesting letter to the *Times* which discusses some of the features of this discovery and we reprint a portion of his letter: "I do not hold the opinion, which I am reported to hold, that this apse belongs to what was once a 'small Roman temple'. I do not know that I am yet in a position to hold any opinion at all about the remains; but I am inclined to think they belong to the church of stone which King Æthelbert built here in 604, the year in which St. Augustin established the sees of London and Rochester, Mellitus and Justus being the first bishops. That there was already a Roman basilica in use as a church at Canterbury is almost certain, and that the Rochester church was therefore built upon the basilican type is at least likely. If our apsidal remains really belong to Æthelbert's church, we have found one of the very first stone churches that the Saxons built in our country. Later on they gave up the basilican plan, and built their chancels with square ends, which have ever since been characteristic of pure English style."

The Rev. Canon Routledge reported on March 6 the results of some antiquarian researches which have recently been made in Canterbury Cathedral, by permission of the dean. The west wall of the crypt is found to be of earlier date than the Norman portions, which are partially built upon it. The hardness of its mortar and other indications lead to the supposition that the wall is of Roman date, and part of the ancient church which Augustine found on the spot on his arrival at Canterbury.

The discovery at Milton-next-Sittingbourne, reported *ante*, vol. iii, p. 136, of a skeleton, with which was a glass vessel and a massive Roman gold ring, turns out to be Saxon and not Roman. At some little distance was a spear-head. The ring bears evidence of having been much worn. It is set with a cornelian intaglio, engraved with the figure of a winged Cupid driving a *biga*. It has fortunately been secured by Mr. Humphrey Wood of Chatham, and will probably be engraved for the *Archæologia Cantiana*.

MEDIÆVAL REMAINS.

During the first few weeks of April several interesting discoveries have been made on the ground being excavated for railway extension in Newcastle. The site is one of the oldest portions of the old town, and here and there large blocks of masonry and other portions of the massive "old town wall" have been uncovered. Between Orchard Street and Hanover Square the remains of a Gothic structure, supposed to have been a church, have been disclosed. A small arch in an excellent state of preservation is at present to be seen, partially hidden from view by alterations which have made portions of the ancient structure do for modern habitations. Coins, stones bearing curious workmanship, and carved woodwork, have also been dug up. In the ground surrounding the building supposed to have been a church, a large number of human bones have at various times been found, and this would lead to the supposition that the site has been the burial-ground in connection with the sacred edifice. A large oak coffin has been unearthed near the railway wall in Orchard Street. The coffin was found seven feet below the surface of the ground. The workmen took off the lid, which was of an arched shape, and found the skeleton of a full-grown person inside. The coffin and remains were conveyed to the tool-house.

The ancient and interesting church at Lambourne, in Essex, is now undergoing reparation. When the workmen removed the floor-boards in an old pew, they found a brass consisting of full-length male and female figures with a plate bearing the following inscription: "Of your charity pray for the souls of Robert Barfoot, citizen and mercer of London, and Katharine his wife, which Robert deceased xxv day of June in the year of our Lord God MCCCCXLVI., on whose soul Jesu have mercy." This church is very small, and consists of chancel and nave with a turret containing three bells. The north doorway has a fine Norman arch. Thomas Wynnyffe, Bishop of Lincoln, 1642-54, was for some time rector, and with

his father, John Wynnyffe, gent., of Sherborne in Dorset, who died in 1630, is buried within its walls.

The parish church of Wingrave has been reopened by the Bishop of Oxford after restoration. The church consists of chancel, nave, with clerestory, and aisles, the tower being at the west end of the building. The earliest work is in the chancel, in which are some remains of specimens of Norman architecture. Decorated and Perpendicular windows have been inserted in various parts; the piers and arches of the nave are late Decorated. The general design of the exterior, which is embattled throughout, is late Perpendicular, with good windows; the south porch is modern. The restoration has been very extensive; but those responsible for it claim that in every case the ancient detail has been carefully reproduced. The *Bucks Advertiser* published the following note on an interesting fact in the history of the church: "There was a bequest made many years ago to Wingrave Church, but at so early a date that the donor's name is not now well remembered. The object of the gift was for providing rushes on the feast Sunday wherewith to strew the church. On the inclosure of the open fields in 1798 three roods of meadow were set out in Wingrave in lieu of the ancient rushlands. The three roods were formerly let at 21s. per year, which rent was paid to the parish clerk to provide grass or rushes to strew the church on the village feast-day.

Mr. H. C. Ivatts has sent to the *Antiquary* a communication on the church of St. Nicholas Condicote, Gloucestershire, which was re-opened on January 12, after restoration. This interesting little Norman church consists of nave and chancel, with a porch on the south side and a bell-cote at the west end. The chancel-arch, a fine specimen of dog-tooth supported by pillars, with some beautiful chiselled work on the east side of the piers, and the arch of similar construction but smaller span which, supported by two pairs of pillars with cushion capitals, forms the south doorway, have been cleaned and the defective stonework well restored; the sixteenth century three-light Perpendicular window has been removed from the east end of the chancel and placed on the north side of the nave facing the door—sufficient traces of sills, etc., having been discovered in the course of the work for the reconstruction on their original lines of a pair of lancet windows above the communion table—these, with a lancet of later date in the south wall, give sufficient light to the chancel, and it has not been thought necessary to re-open two other windows, traces of which may be seen on both north and south walls of the chancel, internally as well as externally. The leper's window in the south wall, and the interesting little early English piscina have, of course, been retained. The fine square-headed window, with its saint's bracket, in the south wall of the nave, gives ample light to the pulpit and adjacent pews. The porch has been entirely rebuilt, its roof considerably raised, several interesting fragments of carved stone which have turned up being built into its west wall. A trench has been formed on the outside of the walls, the foundations of which have been strengthened by new masonry; the level of the floor has been lowered

some feet so that the church is now entered by a descent of three steps, and the interior of the walls, denuded of their plaster, have been thoroughly renovated. A fragment of what was apparently the original font has been found, but this is not a sufficient guide for its reconstruction; and the more modern one, a massive stone basin on a polyangular stem and steps, and lead-lined, though of little interest, has been removed from the north wall to a position just within the south door. The roof has been retiled and the timbers left bare internally. The stone cross which surmounted the east wall of the nave has been removed and placed upon the already existing base and column over the well in the village, a new cross of larger size and more suitable design being substituted; the modern bell-cote has been similarly replaced by one constructed more in accordance with the style of the building, and also surmounted by a cross.

A discovery of great interest has been made in York Minster. Workmen engaged in sanitary improvements in the old Song School unearthed a beautiful tiled floor about two feet below the ordinary stone floor, and beneath the gas and water-pipes. It was in a wonderful state of preservation. The tiles have been taken up, to admit of the necessary excavations, and meanwhile some human remains, evidently of great age, have been dug up.

For some time it has been apparent that the east wall of the chancel of the parish church of Ellesmere has been sinking. The church is built on a mound which stands many feet above the level of the streets that skirt two sides of the churchyard, and the end of the chancel runs quite near to the retaining wall surrounding the churchyard. Mr. Pearson was consulted, and he recommended the under pinning of the side walls of the chancel and the entire rebuilding of the gable-end.

Among items of "restoration" news we notice a movement is on foot for the restoration of Rossett Parish Church, at a cost of about £4,000, and that Old Malton Priory Church has been re-opened after restoration. With all its rich relics of the monastic era, Yorkshire has only one memorial of the Gilbertine order, and that is St. Mary's Priory Church at Old Malton, which, in fact, is the sole church of the only English monastic order ever founded that is still used for public worship.

A very handsome fresco of twelfth century style has been discovered in St. Anselm's Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral. The chapel was originally dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, and the fresco, which is of large size, and beautifully coloured, represents the last-named apostle in the act of shaking the snake by which he was attacked after the shipwreck at Malta, from off his hand into the fire.

Mr. Edward J. Payne recently communicated to the *South Bucks Free Press* the following in reference to an interesting discovery at Wycombe Church. "The restoration of the outside of the parish church has brought to light a relic which, if I interpret it rightly, should henceforth be an object of peculiar interest. It is a piece of rough walling, built of the native boulder stone from the beds which overlies the chalk at Denner Hill

and Walter's Ash, and forming the lower part of the west wall of the north aisle of the nave, below the great west window in that aisle, and close to the tower. The masons' sheds at present hide it from view; but after these are gone it will be conspicuous from one of the most frequented of the town thoroughfares, and my object in writing is to express a hope that those who have the control of the restoration works will leave it just as it is, because there can, I think, be little doubt that it is a remnant of the original church, built at his own expense by Swartling the thane, and consecrated by St. Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, soon after the Norman Conquest. It will be noticed that it does not occupy the entire breadth of the west aisle wall, but stops short near the buttress. This shows that the building of which it originally formed part was somewhat narrower than the present one: while its materials, situation, and general appearance indicate it as a genuine fragment of the earlier church. If this is so, it is the oldest bit of building in the town.

The church of South Petherwyn, near Launceston, has been reopened after restoration. It contained a fine old font of thirteenth-century work, a good seventeenth-century pulpit, some excellent carving in the roof, and a portion of a very fine old oak rood-screen. But it is allowed that the building was in a deplorable condition from damp and other causes; the arcades and walls were undermined by numerous vaults and graves; both the north and south arcades were from 14 inches to 18 inches out of the perpendicular; several of the granite windows have been blown in, and renewed with deal casements; the roof had been mutilated and whitewashed. The rafters and ribs were in a rotten condition, and gave free access to rain and draughts. The architect, Mr. G. H. Fellowes Prynne, is said to have framed his plans with due regard to the features and details of the fabric, but we gather from the descriptions of the work that more than enough concession was made to present notions of taste. During the progress of the restoration many remnants of ancient work were found built into the walls, notably an almost complete Norman capital, with sufficient stone of the shaft to show the dimensions of the original columns, which were no less than three feet in diameter; two early fourteenth-century coffin-covers with trefoil crosses cut out on them; portion of a fine old altar tombstone cut in polyphant, and part of a stoop of fifteenth-century work. From all these remains it is evident that a church of considerable size existed on the same site in the early part of the twelfth century, and it seems probable this early building rested upon the foundations of a still earlier and more rudely built church.

COINS.

A young man named Markey was bird's-nesting near Neville's Cross, and near the foot of a tree saw what appeared to be a pot sticking out of the ground. In picking it up it smashed, and a number of coins fell to the ground. Taking them first to be checks, he afterwards found out

what they really were, and sold about forty at Durham, where they were melted down. Others he took to a town councillor of Durham, Mr. Fowler, who, perceiving that they were English and Scotch coins in a good state of preservation, bought them at a fair price. The rest, with a portion of the urn, were secured by Mr. George Neasham, of the Durham University. The urn is about 9 inches high, and of mediæval workmanship. The coins are groats, half-groats, and pennies of the two Scottish kings, Robert Bruce and David II, and the first three Edwards of England. The collection of these interesting coins, all now in the possession of Mr. Fowler, includes a large number of pennies from the royal and episcopal mints of Durham and York. The inscriptions show that the groats and half-groats of Edward III were struck in London and at York.

REVIEW.

LA TOMBE BASQUE, ETUDE DES MONUMENTS ET USAGES
FUNÉRAIRES DES EUSKARIENS. Par HENRI O'SHEA.
12 Eaux-fortes de F. Corèges. (Pau, 1889.)

MR. HENRI O'SHEA has followed his delightful volume, *La Maison Basque*, published in 1887, by the present equally charming *La Tombe Basque*. Both are works of serious interest to the archæologist; they abound in curious learning, and are distinguished quite as much by the poetic beauty of their style. Mr. O'Shea drapes the aridities of archæological discussion with rich flowers of poetry and fancy, until sometimes, beautiful as its blossoms may be, we almost fear lest the shrouding parasite should hide from us the tree on which it feeds.

The first person, as far as I am aware, to draw attention to the archæological value of some of the Basque tombs was the artist, M. Ludovic Letrone. Some eighteen years ago he made excellent etchings of some of the stèles at Itzatzou, near Cambo, on the Nive. These were published, if I remember rightly, in the *Bulletin de la Société Ramond* (Bagnères de Bigorre). The next to take up the subject was M. A. Landrin, the zealous Conservateur of the Musée d'Ethnographie at the Trocadéro. He remarked these tombs on his visit to the Pays Basque some three years since, and spoke of them to the present writer. He seemed then to share my opinion (since proved erroneous) that the ornamentation was merely that of village masons making trial of their compasses. Hardly had he returned to Paris, however, when he wrote to say that they were something very different; that he had found a remarkable coincidence between these tombs and the Etruscan at Boulogne, and that they had a real archæological signification. Whether M. Landrin has published anything on the subject, or whether he has been hindered from so doing by his multifarious labours, I do not know.

Mr. Henri O'Shea proves conclusively, by the excellent examples given in his plates, that M. Landrin was fully justified in assigning a likeness of these circular-headed Basque funeral stèles to Etruscan art. But he has gone further, and has compared them

not only with the Etruscan, but also with the stèles and crosses of Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man. The Basque ornamentation seems to stand, as it were, half-way between Etruscan and Keltic lapidary work. This fact is most important in its bearing on the difficult and disputed question of the relations between the Basque and Keltic races. But this we can only allude to.

The book opens with a picturesque description of actual funeral customs among the Basques. Among a people like them, where ancestral customs and usages are often preserved in particular families only, it is hardly possible that such a sketch should be exhaustive; and it would not be difficult to supplement it on some points. The corpse in some families is still carried on an open bier, and buried in its clothes, instead of being enclosed in a coffin. Mr. O'Shea has himself given one curious example of this in the case of a priest in *La Maison Basque* (note, p. 24), and we have known others. A singular custom, not referred to, observed in various districts of the Pays Basque, is that of lighting a fire at the nearest cross-roads to a house in which a death takes place. Every passer-by is supposed to say a *pater noster* for the dead, and in some instances to throw a stone at the same time on to a heap by the wayside.

After this description of funeral rites and customs the real subject of the work, the archæological examination of the sculptured tombstones and stèles still existing among the Basques, is entered upon. There is, unfortunately, great difficulty in deciding the age of the oldest of these stones. The climate of the country, with its humidity and rapid changes of temperature, is not favourable for the preservation of exposed sculpture. The stone employed in the village churchyards, where alone these stèles are now found, is rarely of good quality. Thus, it is only on the supposition that existing stèles are traditional copies and types descended from a far higher antiquity that we can assign to them their antiquarian value. But there are other instances which show that the Basques, the most conservative people of Western Europe, continued practices of antiquity long after they had been forgotten and abandoned by other races.

The thesis set forth in this volume may be studied almost as well in the careful plates as in the learned commentary of the text upon them. Plate iii shows how the first elements of this ornamentation—among others, the *swastika* or fylfot cross—are found in most widely distant countries as well as among the Basques. The Japanese *tomoyé*, or phallic emblem, is still to be seen on many an

old Basque house, but of course without the least idea of that signification. In plate iv, the cruciform stèle from a Cypriote coin is almost identical with some crosses still to be found in the churchyards; but the figure taken alone is too simple to build a theory upon. In plate v, we have Etruscan stèles from Boulogne, and here the resemblance to the Basque examples is indubitable. Plate vi, fig. 1, gives us a cross from Kilkispeer, Kilkenny. We have only to compare this with fig. 6, plate xi, a Basque cross from Urcuraya, to see that the ornament is the same. The ornamentation of fig. 3, plate vii, from Aberlemmo, Scotland, is similar to that of some tombs at Louhossoa, not reproduced here. It is impossible to compare the figures in plates vi, vii, which give examples of Keltic stèles and crosses, with the Basque examples on plates viii, ix, x, xi, without acknowledging the identity of the type. These examples are taken from a small portion only of the Basque country; richer discoveries may be made elsewhere. The churchyard of Louhossoa was (perhaps is, notwithstanding the great destruction of these monuments in the country churchyards during the last twenty years) richer in such monuments than any of the places here named. At Ste. Engrace, and at some other places, some of the stones seem to be planted face downwards in the earth, and these, if examined, may prove to have preserved details lost elsewhere.

But Mr. O'Shea has written enough to prove his main theme. I confess that I do not follow him in his adoption of Professor J. Campbell's (of Montreal) theory of the absolute identity of Basque with Etruscan and other languages; nor do I think that the Hittite is yet sufficiently settled ground to build sure theories upon; but all this is mere accessory and accidental to the main argument. The further comparison of these tombs and their ornamentation with the Etruscan on the one side and with the Keltic on the other should be fruitful in results. The tracing out the hidden or missing links in so long a chain, of which we have such few fragments, cannot be devoid of interest and instruction. To Mr. Henri O'Shea belongs the honour of first directing archæologists to what we believe will prove a fruitful field of research and of discovery.

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THE NORMAN EXCHEQUER.

I FIND, on my return from wintering abroad, that Mr. Hubert Hall has contributed to the *Archæological Review* (Feb. 1889) a paper on a subject which we have both studied, the National Treasury and Exchequer in the earliest stages of their development. Mr. Hall, I observe, has carried further that system of assignment by the "Camera Curie", on which he lays so much stress. He now tells us that "in the reign of Henry II the place of the Treasury and Exchequer was supplied by the Camera or Ministry of the Privy Purse . . . audited by certain quasi-Barons of the Exchequer in their original capacity of gentlemen of the bed-chamber" (*ante*, vol. ii, p. 389). These officers, he adds, were the "Camerarii, also called Milites or Barones (see *Fantosme*, lines 2021-3)." Now, on referring to this passage in *Fantosme* (Rolls ed.), we find that it proves the exact opposite. The picture given is a very striking one. It is a summer night in 1174; the weary and anxious king has lain down to rest "en sa chambre demeine"; he is just being lulled to sleep by a kind of Oriental *massage* :

"Li reis iert acuté e un poi sumeilla,
Un vadlet à ses piez ki suef les grata;
N'i ont naise ne cri ne nuls n'i parla,
Harpe ne viole nul d'ure n'i suna."

Suddenly the silence is broken; a messenger has arrived from the North and demands instant admission. The watchful "gentleman of the bed-chamber" ("li chamberlens") tells him that the king is sleeping and must on no account be disturbed, but Henry wakes at the sound of the knocking and orders the messenger to be admitted. He listens to the glad tidings of victory, and becomes at once "so merry and joyful" that he rushes out to where his knights are sleeping and rouses them to hear the news :—

"E li reis est si liez la nuit e si haitié
Qu'il vint as chevaliers, si' s ad tuz esveillé :
Baruns, esveillez-vus !" (lines 2021-3).

Here we see the "Camerarius" ("li chamberlens")—or "gentleman of the bedchamber"—not identified with, but, on the contrary, distinguished from, the "Milites or Barones" ("Chevaliers, Baruns"). These latter, so far from being "quasi-Barons of the Exchequer", are merely the king's followers. *Fantosme*, Mr. Hall will find, speaks of the "baruns" of London; he makes William de Vesci address his followers as "Barons,

Knights" ("E dit : 'Baruns, chevaliers,' à ceus de sa baille"); and Roger d'Estouteville exhorts his garrison as "Gentilz baruns cumpaignuns!" while the King of Scotland addresses their besiegers as "Gentilz baruns chevaliers!" In none of these cases were the contending hosts composed of Barons of the Exchequer.

On the wider "controversy which may be allowed to centre", as Mr. Hall has truly observed, "in the position of the Royal Treasury before the close of the twelfth century," I will say no more at present than that the evidence adduced by me as to the one Royal Treasury, under the one Royal Treasurer, being still in Winchester Castle as late as "1135, and even 1141," remains unshaken and indeed unassailed, and is fatal to the view "that a dual Treasury must have existed from the reign of Henry I" (*Antiquary*, xvi, 163). As to the reign of Henry II, Mr. Hall is, I see, modifying his views, and now admits that "there was undoubtedly a central Treasury at Winchester". Nor, indeed, could the evidence of the Pipe-Rolls, as appealed to by himself, point to any other conclusion. That the latter part of this reign, however, was, in this matter, a period of transition is highly probable, and the rapid development in administration which then took place may well have dealt the *coup de grâce* to the ancient "Hoard" of the Anglo-Saxon, the "Treasury" of the Norman kings, guarded by the historic ramparts of Winchester Castle.

J. H. ROUND.

THE BUDDHA'S ALMS-DISH.

Supra, vol. iii, p. 257.

THE following extract from Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India* (vol. ii, p. 87) may be of interest as a pendant to Mr. Nutt's interesting essay on "Buddha's Alms-Dish":—

"The antiquities of *Parashāwar* [Peshawar] are described by Hwen Thsang in great detail. Of these the most sacred was a ruined *Stupa* near the north-west corner of the city, which had formerly contained the *Alms-bowl* of Buddha. In A.D. 402, at the time of Fa-Hian's visit, the holy vessel was still there, although the King of the *Yuchi* had endeavoured to carry it away. 'He brought a large elephant richly caparisoned and placed the bowl upon the elephant, but the elephant fell to the earth unable to advance. He then constructed a four-wheeled car, and placed the bowl thereon, and yoked eight elephants to draw it, but they were unable to move a step. The king then knew that the destiny of the bowl was not yet fulfilled.' Afterwards, when Fa-Hian visited Ceylon, he heard that 'the *Pātra*, or Alms-bowl, of Buddha originally was preserved in the city of Vaisālī; but now it is on the borders of Gāndhāra. In somewhat like a hundred years it will again be transported to the country of the Western Yuchi.' In the diary of Sung-Yun there is no mention of the Alms-bowl; and as the reigning King of Gāndhāra was not a

Buddhist, it is most probable that the bowl had already been removed. In A.D. 630, when Hwen Thsang visited Gāndhāra, the bowl was in Persia. Strange to say, this once famous vessel still exists near the modern Kandahar, where, according to Sir H. Rawlinson, it is held in much estimation by the Muhammadans."

So far as it goes, the actual temporary disappearance of the Alms-dish is an interesting parallel to that of the Graal.

JOSEPH JACOBS.

In the article "Recent Research in Numismatics" (*supra*, vol. iii), correct *Trophonius* for *Triphonius* (p. 249, lines 29 and 35); and *no small portion*, for *a small portion* (p. 254, line 7).

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